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Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi

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FROM A TWELFTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY
OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

F. METCALFE, M.A.

FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
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INTRODUCTION.

I. Account of the C.C.C. MS.—II. Connexion of Fountains with Norway.—III. Contents of the MS.—IV. Story of Olaf.—V. Comparison of Olaf Haraldson with Olaf Tryggvason.—VI. Olaf's relations with Canute.—VII. Exile and death.—VIII. Olaf and the Scalds.—IX. Importance of Olaf in Norwegian history.—X. Early recognition of his merits and sanctity.—XI. Cult of S. Olaf.—XII. Spread of the cult abroad.—XIII. Dedication of Churches.—XIV. His miracles and place in popular legend.—XV. Relics and memorials in works of art.—XVI. Position of this work in the literature of the subject.—XVII. Eystein the author.—XVIII. Eystein in England.—XIX. His character as archbishop.—XX. His church at Trondhjem.

I. In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is a quarto MS. volume, in vellum [1], once the property of Fountains Abbey. The name of its immediate possessor before Corpus Christi College appears from the words written on its first page,—'Lib. John Rosewell, C.C.C. Oxon, donavit Tho. Samwell Armiger de Upton in Com. Northampton.' According to the list of Oxford graduates, Rosewell took his B.D. degree Oct. 31, 1667; so the person who presented him with the book must have been Thomas Samwell of Upton, M.P. for Northants 1683–1688, buried March 3, 1693–4 [2]. The reader will not fail to note that in this same county of Northants, and at no great distance from Upton, was Pipewell Abbey, an offshoot from Fountains. What if the book was lent to the brethren at Pipewell, and at the Dissolution passed into the hands of the Samwells?

The manuscript, which has a cover of rough seal-skin, is beautifully written throughout, and is in an excellent state of preservation. It is numbered 209 in Coxe's catalogue, and contains treatises on a variety of

[1] Marked 1676, 209. F. 2, 5 in *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae.*

[2] Baker's *Northamptonshire*, i. 225.

subjects, copied by different hands. The whole must have been written out in England, and much about the same date. The particular work here selected for publication is composed in thirty-three folios and a half, numbered 57 to 90, all written in the clear broad hand of one scribe, who, to judge from his mistakes in Scandinavian proper names, can hardly have been a native of Scandinavia. It must have been copied very nearly at the commencement of the thirteenth century. It is written in single column, and contains twenty-four lines to the page. The initial letters are illuminated in red, green, and blue; while the overlapping headings to each Section (see Façsimile) are in red ink. The initials of proper names, whether of places or persons, are almost invariably written in small letters. This is the case even with the names of God and Jesus Christ. The spelling of the MS. is retained in the present edition, but the contractions have been written out in full. No attempt has been made to reproduce the capricious punctuation of the original.

On comparing our facsimile with that prefixed to the Chronicle of the Abbey of Evesham[1], which dates from 1214, a remarkable resemblance between the two is at once apparent. The legend on the first page, 'Liber Sancte Marie de Fontibus,' in handwriting probably of the thirteenth century, establishes beyond a doubt that this volume was once the property of that Cistercian Monastery, by the brethren of which it still bears marks of having been extensively perused. Its very position in their Library is indicated by the words, 'Theca iii in antiquis almariis liber xxxviii^us^.'

II. This famous religious institution, still surviving in picturesque ruin, was founded at Christmas, A.D. 1132, in the vale of the Skell, near Ripon, by Archbishop Thurstan of York. The brethren, thirteen in number, were refugees from the Benedictine Monastery of S. Mary, at York, with Richard, the Prior of that foundation, at their head, who was now nominated first Abbot of Fountains. The infant establishment throve apace, and riches soon began to pour in upon it. Within ten years from its foundation, it supplied members for several convents. Pipewell in Northamptonshire, Woburn in Bedfordshire, and Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, were among the many swarms from the parent hive.

[1] Rolls Series, vol. 29; edited by W. D. Macray, M.A.

One offshoot from the Abbey of Fountains is very interesting in connexion with our present subject. In 1146, i.e. fourteen years after its foundation, Sigurd, Bishop of Bergen in Norway, being in England, visited Fountains Abbey, where he was so struck with a mode of religious life such as he had not before witnessed that he begged the Abbot, Henry Murdac, to furnish him with the means of establishing a Cistercian cell in his own country. After discussing the matter with his monks, Murdac acceded to the proposal, and thirteen associated brethren, the same number that had founded Fountains, under the leadership of Ranulf as their Abbot, departed from their Yorkshire home on July 10, 1146. Their patron, the Bishop, provided them with a home at Lysa, in the bottom of Lysa-fjord, a branch of the Kors-fjord, some twenty miles south of Bergen[1]. This place is remarkable as being the only Norse Monastery the history of whose foundation is preserved; and that by means of a document published in England[2]. The brethren speedily built for themselves a church and monastic buildings, the ruins of which are still extant, and are sufficient to indicate their noble character and dimensions. After the Reformation, much of the best masonry, as is known from Royal Letters, was removed from time to time to Bergen, Copenhagen, and even to distant Mecklenburg[3].

Ranulf, the first Abbot of Lysa, is said to have been a God-fearing man, and to have been favoured with visions and revelations[4]. But

[1] Jens Kraft's *Hist.-topog. Haandbog*, p. 469, Christiania, 1845-48.

[2] Vide *Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis Monasterii*, written down by Hugh de Kirkestall from the dictation of Serlo: in his *Memorials of Fountains Abbey* (Surtees Society, No. 42), vol. i, p. 89, Walbran observes—'The singularly beautiful and appropriate name of Lisa—*lys* signifying "light" in the Norwegian language—may perhaps have emanated originally from the poetical mind of S. Bernard; for, in 1127, a colony of monks went out from Clairvaux, and founded an Abbey in Spain, which was also called Vallis Lucentis, *S. Bern. Opp. Omn.* (ed. Mabillon), vol. i, col. 76.' On reference to the passage in Bernard, it will be seen that the place was not in Spain but in France. The monks did not go from Clairvaux, but from the Monastery of Prully, in the Diocese of Sens, as Bernard suggested to its Abbot, Artaldus. The leader of the new colony was Norpaldus. The French name of his Monastery was Vauluisant. It is near Sens; *Gall. Chr.* xii. 215, 231. The charter is printed in *Gallia Christiana*, tom. xii, *instr.* p. 30. Lange, *De Norske Klostres Historie* (Christiania, 1856), p. 349, cf. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. v, p. 30.

[3] Lange, *ib.* 358.

[4] *Script. Rer. Dan.* iv. 406.

the solitude of Kors-fjord was too much for him. Each time he beheld the Western sun setting in the Fjord, he was reminded of his beloved valley in Yorkshire, and longed to rejoin his old friends. So, after many years' residence among the Northern barbarians, having placed the affairs of the new monastery on a sure basis, he returned to Fountains, and died at a great age, and was buried there. The intercourse with England continued, and the Abbots traded thither in their own vessels, enjoying special privileges. Thus King John, in a document dated Pontefract, August 30, 1212, exempted the Abbot's ship from the payment of all imposts in English ports; *Rotuli liter. patent.* (London, 1835), I. 95. And in 1217 the Abbot of Lysa, 'a prudent man,' was sent to King Henry III, then a minor, to conclude a treaty of friendship and commerce with England, where he remained over the winter (Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. 1704, I. 223; Munch's *Hist. Norw.* iii. 741). Abbot Richard, who was employed by our King Edward I in delicate negotiations, and who witnessed the marriage of King Eric and Margaret of Scotland at Bergen, in 1283, was an Englishman. The end of a subsequent Abbot, Arne by name, was a tragical one. In 1336 or 1337 he sailed to England, and was seized by English Duggars, who cut off the heads of himself and all his crew, and threw their bodies overboard[1].

Among the extant records of Fountains Abbey there is nothing further illustrative of the relations subsisting between the parent and the daughter in Scandinavia. Regular communications must have proved difficult, for in 1213 the Abbey of Lysa was, by a statute of the chapter general of the Order placed under the Abbey of Alvastra [Alvestro] in Sweden[2].

We have been thus particular about the Norwegian offshoot from the English Abbey, because it has been suggested that the volume covered

[1] *Ann. Isl.* 244. Isl. 'Dugga'=a large boat used in the open sea. 'Duggari'= the crew of such a vessel. *Ib.* 388, we find that thirty of these craft reached Iceland, A.D. 1413. Hence the name of the well-known 'Dogger-bank' in the North Sea. The pedigree of those hardy fellows who leave our shores for many weeks in pursuit of their dangerous calling is thus a pretty long one. There were Duggars and Duggars. These visitors to North Iceland seized cattle, it is true, but left money in payment.

[2] Martene, *Thesaurus Anecd.* iv. 1313.

with seal-skin may be a memorial of the connexion between the two Abbeys, and that the animal whose skin has effectually protected the volume may have disported itself in Lysa-fjord many hundred years ago; a conjecture which, however, seems untenable, if, as is undoubtedly the fact, the writing inside was, on the face of it, executed in England. But one portion of its contents, at all events—viz. the Passion and Miracles of S. Olaf, which is here first published in its complete form—may be due to the connexion between the English and Norwegian foundations. If Ranulf returned to England before Eystein compiled and wrote the supplementary chapters to the Passion of S. Olaf, then may not the book possibly have been carried to England by one of the Abbots or ecclesiastics who were constantly repairing thither? Or perhaps the writer himself, Archbishop Eystein, who was an exile in England[1], and was entertained at Bury S. Edmunds from August 9, 1181, to February, 1182[2], may have carried a copy of the legend thither with him, or sent it, on his return, to S. Edmund's Monastery and that of Fountains.

Of all the Saints in the Norwegian Calendar there was none so renowned as King Olaf the Martyr, and the Norse ecclesiastics would be sure, as soon as they could, to make their friends in England acquainted with the merits of their great national Saint.

III. The contents of the volume relate, as we mentioned before, to diverse subjects. They are enumerated on the first page, in red ink, and in a hand probably of the fourteenth century:—

'In hoc codice continentur Passio domini nostri Jesu Christi[3]. Sol[i]loquia Augustini. Item de libero arbitrio ad Valentinum monachum. Et passio sancti Olavi regis et martiris. Et egressio monachorum cist. de molismo; et epistola Turstini episcopi de egressione Fontanensi de cenobio Sancte Marie de eboracensibus.'

The fifth treatise in the volume, 'Epistola Turstini'—Thurstan became Archbishop of York A.D. 1119—was first printed in its entirety from this volume in Walbran's *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, p. 11. It surpasses all other existing copies in purity and antiquity; and is

[1] *Ann. Isl.*, and *Hoveden* (Rolls Series), ii. 214 and iii. 270, ed. Stubbs.

[2] *Chron. Joc. de Brakelond, ad ann.* 1182. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 251.

[3] The last words are almost illegible. This treatise is no longer in the volume.

therefore to a certain extent a guarantee for the choiceness of the whole volume. But our business is more immediately with the treatise that stands fourth in the list of contents; 'The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint Olaf.' It will be shown below that it contains an account of these transactions surpassing in its extent and fulness of details all other books on the subject known. The name of its author, Eystein or Augustinus, second Archbishop of Trondhjem[1], is now for the first time revealed: and so the question is set at rest as to the authorship of that parent treatise, which learned critics have insisted must be the groundwork of the various scattered notices of the Passion and Miracles of S. Olaf. But we must first give a sketch of the man whose death and miracles are here recorded, and who in the national mind has eclipsed all his predecessors and successors on the Scandinavian throne.

IV. For accuracy of detail, care in the chronology, and the remarkable way in which the various recensions of it correspond with each other, the Saga of S. Olaf stands foremost in the old historical literature of Norway before King Swerrir. This is unquestionably to be attributed to the fact that, directly after his death, a careful and complete oral account of his life was put together by some contemporary and well-informed Sagaman; and preserved by tradition, whole and intact, until it was committed to writing either at the instance of Are Frodi, or by that author himself. The basis of the account would of course be the verses of the King's scalds, relating his exploits. Such were Ottar the Black, and Sigvat, the latter of whom remained court scald in the reign of his son Magnus. But much more is given in the Sagas than can be ascribed to these scalds.

The striking personality of Olaf, and the remarkable conversion of Norway effected by him in so short a space, were things that would imprint themselves deeply on the popular imagination; but they might, notwithstanding, have faded in the course of centuries, and become indistinct, but for the hand of wise and skilful chroniclers to give them form, coherence, and permanency. The following are histories of S. Olaf in the vernacular:—(1) *Olafs Saga hins Helga*, a short account of him written between 1160 and 1180 in Norway, and edited by Keyser

[1] Until 1151 the head of the Church of Nidaros (= the city at the mouth of the Nid, now Trondhjem) was only Bishop. He then first took the archiepiscopal title.

and Unger from the Upsala MS., Christiania, 1849, known as the Legendary Recension. Much of this tallies accurately with an Old-Norse Homily Book to be mentioned hereafter. (2) *Olaf den Helliges Saga*, by Snorri Sturluson, edited by Munch and Unger, Christiania, 1853, called the Historic Saga *par excellence*. (3) In *Heimskringla* (Copenhagen, 1778, and Christiania, 1868, Unger), there is an abbreviated recension of his life; and (4) yet another recension in *Fornmanna Sögur*, vols. 4 and 5, Copenhagen, 1850. The other materials for S. Olaf's history are enumerated at pp. 46, 47, below.

Born in 995, of the race of Harald Fairhair, son of Harald Grænske by Aasta of the Uplands, he was brought up from infancy in the family of his stepfather, Sigurd Syr, petty king of Ringarike, in the south of Norway, where, according to Snorri, he was baptized at the age of three, Olaf Tryggvason, who was visiting those parts to spread Christianity, standing godfather. But peaceful occupations did not jump with his humour. Neither was he very amenable to parental discipline. One day, no serving-men were about, so his stepfather told him to saddle his horse. Olaf went to the goat-pen, took out the biggest he-goat, led him forth and put the king's saddle on him, and then went and told King Sigurd his riding-horse was ready. When Sigurd came out and saw the prank Olaf had played upon him, he said, 'It is plain to see you will not mind my orders, and your mother will not think it right for me to order you to do what you do not like. I see clearly that we are different, and that you are much more proud than I am.' Olaf answered little and went away laughing. (Flateyb. *Olaf Tryggv.* c. 3.) Norway, which, on the fall of Olaf Tryggvason at the Battle of Svölder, passed under the rule of Sweyn King of Denmark (A.D. 1000), was no safe place of residence for him. So, like other notable men, he took to the sea. But we will place him before the reader as portrayed by his biographer, *Heimskringla*, c. 3, p. 219 (*Olafs Saga hins Helga*):—'When Olaf Haraldson grew up he was not tall, but of middle height, and of a very robust frame, strong and vigorous. He had light brown hair and a broad face, which was white and red. He had particularly fine eyes, which were beautiful and piercing, so that one was afraid to look him in the face when he was angry. Olaf was very skilful in all bodily exercises, understood well how to handle the bow, and surpassed all others in

throwing the spear. He was a great swimmer; he had a skilled eye and hand in all sorts of smith work, whether it was he or another who was the artificer. He was called Olaf the Fat[1]. He was bold and ready of speech. He soon arrived at maturity both of brain and body. He was beloved by all his friends and acquaintances; eager in his sports and one who always liked to be first, as it was meet he should be from his birth and dignity.' With such precocious parts it is not surprising that he was only twelve years old when he started on his first Viking cruise, being by constant practice already very strong, and perfect in all muscular and warlike exercises, while his stout short figure doubtless added to his powers of endurance. Before long he was harrying the coasts of Denmark, Sweden, and France. Soon after we find him in England, as the active adherent of the unfortunate Ethelred against the usurping Danes, who had also invaded the throne of his father in Norway[2]. One notable exploit may here be mentioned. The Danes held the bridge in London, connecting the castle on the North side of the Thames with the stronghold on the South side, Southwark (Sudrvirki), where was a considerable place of trade. Here the Danes had raised a great work, dug large ditches, and within had built a bulwark of stone, timber, and turf, which was manned by a large force. King Ethelred ordered an assault, but the Danes defended themselves bravely, and Ethelred could make nothing of it. Between the castle (on the site perhaps of the present Tower of London) and Southwark there was a bridge so broad that two waggons could pass each other upon it. Olaf and his men having constructed pent-houses of planks over the decks of his ships, strong enough to resist the missiles poured from above by the defenders of the bridge, 'rowed quite up under the bridge,' says Snorri, who takes the account of contemporary scalds, 'and fastened his cables round the piles which supported it, and his men rowed their hardest down stream.' The result was that the piles were loosened, and gave way; and down fell the bridge with multitudes of those upon it, while the rest fled. There-

[1] 'Olaf digre' (='Olaf the Fat') was the epithet which his namesake the King of Sweden was fond of contemptuously applying to him. Nay, at one time he would not suffer him to be mentioned in any other way than as 'Fat' pure and simple, or by some opprobrious nickname; *Heimskr.* c. 66.

[2] *Heimskr.* c. 11, p. 224. In *Leg. Saga* 10 Olaf is made the ally of Canute in this exploit.

upon Southwark was stormed and taken [1]. Ottar the Black, the King's scald, has preserved the memory of this event.

A close and literal translation of the verses, with the strange figures and phrases affected by the scalds, would not convey much meaning to the modern student. But the following may serve:—

'Odin's tempest, warrior wight,
Swift descending to the fight,
London Bridge straight hurl'dst thou down,
Treasure won'st and great renown;
Coats of ring-mail burst asunder,
Shield 'gainst shield was dash'd like thunder.'

Another bosom friend of the king, Sigvat, sings pretty much in the same strain:—

'Stout Olaf, king from Odin sprung,
His men against the foemen flung.
Swinging amain his keen French blade,
He stormed the piers, the Vikings fled;
Some by the dyke-side refuge gain,
Some in their tents on Southwark plain.'

The result was that Ethelred was restored to the throne. All that winter Olaf stayed with Ethelred, and doubtless his aspect became very familiar to the motley population, Danes and Anglo-Saxons alike. Eventually he was entrusted by the king with the whole land-defence of England, and he sailed round the coasts with ships of war. For three years he remained in the country, winning battle after battle over the Danes, and making the people pay for his services with the best wealth of the land. On the death of Ethelred, 1016, and the arrival of Canute the Great, Olaf left England, laden with enormous booty, doubtless greatly to the chagrin of the inhabitants, who must by this time have experienced the justice of the saying 'Save me from my friends.' Thence he passed to the North-west of France (Valland), plundering and laying waste. At Rouen, where, according to the Latin legend, he was baptized, he met the fugitive sons of Ethelred, with whom he made an unsuccessful descent on Northumberland. While in France, and purposing

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 12, p. 225; *Olaf den Helliges Saga*, c. 23.

to go to Jerusalem, he had been warned in a dream to return home and claim his Scandinavian kingdom. Presently he returned to England, coasting along till he arrived in Northumberland. Hence, as we are told by his scald Ottar, Olaf started with a small but well-armed and fearless band, in two merchant ships, on his adventurous voyage[1]. They encountered a tremendous storm, and the waves roared down over the mariners like a 'mountain force' in their native land; but they reached Norway safely. The place where they landed turned out to be Sælö (=lucky isle) near Stad. 'Luck to us,' cried the king, turning punster; 'I accept the omen.' As he stept ashore one foot slipped on the mud, but with the other knee the king supported himself. 'The king fell,' exclaimed Olaf. 'Oh no,' replied Rane, 'thou didst not fall, but set fast foot on the soil.' The king smiled and said, 'It may be so, if God will[2].' Before long, by a clever stratagem, Olaf made the handsome Earl Hacon Erikson, Canute's nephew, prisoner; but let him go, on condition that he would swear never to fight against Olaf, or seek to hold Norway against him. This he did, and forthwith left the country, and betook himself to the English court of Canute[3]. Everything went well with Olaf. He now penetrated into the heart of the country, holding Things everywhere, and many of the bonders went willingly with him. His visit to his mother Aasta and his very shrewd and wealthy step-father, king Sigurd, a gentleman farmer of the old sort, who when Olaf arrived was busy superintending the cutting of the corn and stacking it, is one of the best things in the Saga—especially as a portrait of character in a few strokes. His dress is thus described: 'He had a blue kirtle and blue hose; a grey cloak, and a grey wide-brimmed hat, a veil before his face, to protect it from the mosquitos; a staff in his hand, with a silver-gilt head on it and a silver ring round it.' But before meeting his step-son he effected a change in his costume. 'He made them take off his shoes and put on Cordovan boots, to which he fastened his gold spurs. Then he put off his cloak and coat, and dressed himself in his finest clothes, with a scarlet cloak over all; girded on his sword, set a

[1] His fabled race home with his half-brother Harald Hardrada is the subject of Danish and Faroese ballads cited below.

[2] *Heimskr.* c. 27, p. 234; *Olaf den Hell. Saga*, c. 29.

[3] *Olaf den Hell. Saga*, c. 32.

gilded helmet on his head, and mounted his horse; and when he saw the banners of Olaf advancing, he went out to meet him with a hundred men all well equipped. People were gathered on the housetops to see the sight. King Sigurd immediately saluted his step-son in a friendly way, and invited him and his men to come in and take a friendly cup with him. Aasta, on the contrary, went up and kissed her son, and invited him to stay with her.' Long was the discussion between the fiery Olaf and his sober calculating relative. 'He had such odds to encounter. There was Olaf the Swedish king, who laid claim to our hero's heritage, and Canute king of both Denmark and England, and, besides that, there was Swend the other Danish Earl, the man in possession for Canute. He, Sigurd Syr, really could make no promise of help till he had conferred with the other upland kings. Very likely the common people would side with him. They loved novelty. They did so when Olaf Tryggvason arrived; they received him with rejoicing, but he did not live long to enjoy the kingdom.' Thus reasoned the prudence of the Senior. Here the mother interposed: 'I am rejoiced to see you, my son. You shall have from me all the help I can give. I'd rather you were over-king in Norway, even though it were no longer than Olaf Tryggvason was, than that you should be no more of a king than Sigurd Syr there, and die the death of old age.' In the end, the upland kings determined to support Olaf's cause. Doubtless his mother had a principal hand in urging on her spouse to action. Olaf now marched northward and succeeded in overcoming the opposition of the bonders of the Trondhjem district. But there were the Earl Swend, and his right-hand man, the great Einar Tambarskelver, to settle with. This he did effectually at the sea fight of Nessie, leading the attack in his stout warship 'The Carl's Head,' so called after Charlemagne, whose name he greatly venerated. Earl Swend fled first to Sweden, where he got a promise of help to reconquer Norway from his brother-in-law the Swedish king Olaf; but soon after fell ill of a sickness which proved fatal, on which Trondhjem declared for Olaf. The game was practically won, and he succeeded in obtaining the crown A.D. 1015[1].

Olaf now built himself a palace at Nidaros, and surrounded himself with all the pomp and circumstance that became a king. Snorri

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 54, p. 257.

places before us a little sketch of him as he sat in Hall in his high seat with Bishop Grimkel next him, and opposite, his marshal. He thus describes his daily life: 'It was the king's custom to rise betimes in the morning, put on his clothes, wash his hands, and then go to church and hear matins and morning mass. After this he went to the Thing to bring people to agreement with each other, or to talk of any other matter that appeared to him needful. He invited to him men of the best capacity, whether great or small. He often made them recite to him the laws which Hacon, Athelstan's foster-son, had made for Trondhjem; and after considering them with those men of understanding, he ordered laws, adding to or taking from those established before, as he judged best. Christian law he settled according to the advice of Bishop Grimkel and other learned clerks, and lent his whole mind to uprooting heathenism and old customs which he thought contrary to Christianity[1].' The mode in which he sought to effect this was one prime cause of his ultimate fate. A recent convert to Christianity, no sooner was he firm on the throne than he set to work, very much in the same fashion as Olaf Tryggvason, the previous king of Norway, to force the new faith on his subjects.

V. But it is worth while to compare the method pursued by the two Olafs, and the results in each case. Olaf Tryggvason went to work with considerable craft. On his arrival in any district for the purpose of introducing Christianity, he first tried to win over the powerful chiefs by the promise of fiefs and other advantages. The peasants he dealt with differently, wherever he felt he could do so with safety. 'Be baptized or fight!' That was the alternative he offered them. This was forcing men into Christianity, 'brjota menn til kristnis' in the usual phrase of the Sagas; a method of procedure which seems to have been regarded with general satisfaction. Thjodrik Munk makes the matter plain: 'Olaf (Tryggvason), seeing that the hearts of the people were hardened, and idolatry and the worship of demons had been imbibed by them with their mothers' milk; being aware too that nothing but the strong hand would avail, words being of none effect, resorted to blows. Herein he imitated his Master, who poured wine

[1] *Heimskr*. c. 56, p. 258.

as well as oil into the wounds of the traveller, and followed the evangelic precept, "Compelle intrare ut impleatur domus mea [1]." Again, we are told that in North Viken Olaf Tryggvason invited all men to receive Christianity, and that those who refused he killed, mutilated, or banished [2].

Not far from Tunsberg he made a great feast, to which he invited several notable warlocks ('seithmen'). Strong drink was supplied without stint, and when they were all very drunk he ordered the house to be set on fire, and all the people inside were burnt [3]. Here we have the king again backed by Bishop Sigurd, his great supporter. The *corpus vile* on this occasion was Raud, the great chief of Godö in the Salten-fjord. He positively declined to be baptized, and scoffed at God; whereupon the king had him tied down on a weaver's beam, face upward, with his mouth kept open by a wooden pin. A piece of angelica was then stuffed into his mouth, and an adder's head pushed down the tube, a hot iron being applied to its tail. The venomous beast, on this, crawled down his throat and made short work of Raud; an exaggeration very likely, but surely based on a horrible truth. See *Saga Olafs Tryggvasonar*, c. 87 (Heimskringla). We need not suggest to our readers that a religion forcibly imposed on the people by these means must have been Christianity only in name. Such conversions *en masse* must necessarily have been of the most superficial nature. And so it was that, when S. Olaf came to the throne, Norway, nominally Christian, was to all intents and purposes heathen, and he had to do the work all over again [4].

Olaf Haraldson went to work pretty much in the same way as Olaf Tryggvason. He would hear of no contradiction or delay. The people of Trondhjem, as well as all his subjects, must leave their horse-flesh, their sacrifices, their incantations, their remembrance cups to the Asar, repudiate Thor and Odin, or take the consequences, which meant in fact present execution, maiming, exile, or, at the least, a fine. Before long he extended his missionary operations to the South and

[1] *Theodorici Monachi Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium*, cap. xi. ed. Storm.

[2] *Saga Olafs Tryggvasonar*, c. 59 (Heimskringla). [3] *Ib.* c. 69.

[4] Cf. Maurer, *Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes*, I. 600.

East, and his old friends and supporters, the upland kings, found out what a capital blunder they were guilty of when they lifted him over their heads[1]. Like others before him and since, he read the lesson of Christianity the wrong way. In him fanaticism is exemplified in its most cruel phase. But he acted according to his lights. It must be remembered that from his boyhood upwards he pursued the Viking trade, which thought nothing of shedding human blood. Not but what, as years went on, he greatly improved on Olaf Tryggvason, who was a Viking to the core, even in his onslaughts on the idol temples. Conformity in externals was perhaps in the outset pretty much the sum and substance of Christianity as practised by S. Olaf and his followers. However, he managed by excessive cruelty to effect, at all events nominally, as Tryggvason had done before him, the conversion of the whole country and its dependencies in a very short space of time.

The scene on the river Laugen, or Lågen, in Gudbrandsdal, is a good illustration of Olaf's missionary method. The king was in prayer all night. In the grey of the morning, after mass, he went to the Thing. A great crowd was now seen coming along, bearing a huge image of a man shining with gold and silver. At its arrival the bonders rose, and bowed down before the idol. Their leader, Dale Gudbrand, apostrophized the king: 'Behold our God who rules over all. Methinks you and your man with the crooked staff (Bishop Sigurd) will be less bold now, for thy fate is in our God's hands.' 'Think not,' replied the king, 'to frighten us with thy God, who is both blind and deaf. Turn thine eyes to the East, and behold our God advancing in great light.' The sun was rising and all turned to look. At that moment Kolbein the Strong, by a preconcerted arrangement with the king, gave their god a dexterous stroke with his club, so that the idol burst asunder; and there ran out of it mice almost as big as cats, and reptiles and adders[2]. The bonders in great terror fled to their boats; but holes had been bored in the bottoms of these in the night, and they were full of water. Others ran to their horses, but these had been turned loose. On this the king ordered the bonders to be called together, and when the Thing was seated, he

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 73.

[2] Supposed to be represented by the ancient sculpture in the Church of S. Olaf at Reval.

addressed them. The concluding words of his speech were, 'Either accept Christianity, or fight this very day.' Up stood Dale Gudbrand: 'We have sustained great damage from our God. But since he will not preserve us, we will believe in the God thou believest in.' Then all received Christianity, and were baptized. They who met as enemies parted as friends, and Gudbrand built a church in the valley [1]. By such means the whole land was at length converted, and, with the help of the chief men of the different provinces, the Danish vicegerents were defeated, and expelled the country.

In 1019 Olaf married Astrid, a base-born daughter of the Swedish king Olaf by a Vendish captive maiden, for his other daughter, Ingigerd, Olaf's promised bride [2], had been faithlessly given away, though not yet married, to Jarisleif (or Jaroslaf), king of Russia [3]. But Astrid was very lovely, and of a pleasing address, modest, merry, and very generous, so that Olaf bore his loss with much equanimity.

VI. In process of time the autocratic conduct of Olaf produced its natural result. Many of his subjects, powerful men or rich bonders' sons, went over to England, and made complaints of the hardships they suffered. Canute, who always took special care to keep himself well-informed on Norwegian politics, being not a little sore moreover at his nephew Earl Hacon's ignominious defeat and expulsion from the land, received these malcontents with open arms, displayed before them the superior splendour of the English court, and loaded them with presents. At last he became so much emboldened as to send messengers to Norway, to say that if Olaf Haraldson wished to remain king of Norway, he must hold it as a fief from himself [4]. The reply was, 'I

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 119.

[2] She had never seen him, but that was of little consequence. Hialte the Icelander, the envoy from Norway, said to her, 'What would be thy answer, if the King of Norway were to propose marriage to thee?' She blushed, but answered slowly and gently, 'I have not made up my mind to answer to that, but if Olaf be as perfect as thou tellest me, I could wish for no other husband' (*Heimskr.* c. 71). She added, however, subsequently, 'But my father disposes of my hand.' Moreover the Swedish bonders sturdily insisted on their king making peace with Olaf the Thick, and marrying his daughter to him, and it was resolved at the Thing that this should be done. Whereupon she sent Olaf a cloak of pell, embroidered with gold, with silk ribbons (ib. 81).

[3] *Heimskr.* c. 89, p. 304.

[4] *Heimskr.* c. 140, p. 376.

will defend Norway with battle-axe and sword as long as life is given me, and will pay scot to no man for my kingdom.'

Nay, Olaf went further. He turned the tables on Canute, and made a descent on Denmark. Canute was not slow to equip a mighty armament for the invasion of Norway. And he set sail thither himself, accompanied by Earl Hacon. Olaf at once took counsel with his people, but there was no unanimity among them. As his scald Sigvat sang, treachery was at work. The bribes of Canute were producing their result; this doubtless had undermined his throne. Olaf's violence and cruelty also, which under other circumstances might have been passed over, contributed much, as things were, to alienate the affections of the people. Canute was well aware of all this. He loved to fish in troubled waters, and he took care to do so now. By the time his fleet was off the coast, whole tracts of the country were in insurrection, so that it was easy work for the English king to place his nephew Hacon on the throne[1]. Finding it useless to attempt to make head against the Danish party and his own rebellious subjects, Olaf left his ships behind, and, to avoid capture, cleared a good horse-road for his party over stone-heaps hitherto impassable[2]. His miraculous powers were now first exhibited. He continued in prayer all night, and in the morning twenty men could handle stones which the day before one hundred could not move. Moreover, a supply of provisions came in obedience to his will, nobody knew how or whence. In the night a dreadful cry arose, 'Now Olaf's prayers are burning me. I can stay here no longer. Now must I fly and never come here more.' This was the wail of the Trolls, who were being

[1] Cf. *Florentii Wigornensis Chronicon* in *Materials for the History of Great Britain from the earliest period*, ed. H. Petrie, fol. 1848, MXXVII: 'Cum regi Anglorum et Danorum Canuto intimatum fuisset, quod Norregani regem suum Olavum propter ejus simplicitatem et mansuetudinem, aequitatem et religiositatem nimis vilipenderent, multum auri et argenti quibusdam illorum misit, multis rogans petitionibus ut illo spreto et abjecto deditionem illi facerent, ac illum super se regnare permitterent. Qui cum ea, quae miserat, aviditate magna suscepissent, ei remandari jusserunt ad illum suscipiendum se paratos fore, quandocunque vellet venire..... MXXVIII. Canutus rex Anglorum et Danorum L navibus magnis Norregam devectus Olavum regem de illa expulit, sibique eam subjugavit.' Here he says nothing about Olaf's cruelty, but corroborates Snorri's assertion below (p. 23) that he had disgusted the chiefs by his equity and religiosity.

[2] Snorri's *Olaf den Helliges Saga*, c. 175. He landed at Sylte in Valdal.

'disestablished'. Olaf made good his escape through Norway; thence to Wermeland in Sweden, and so on to Russia. At the court of Jarisleif, at Novgorod, where his old love Ingigerd was queen, he found a place of refuge. Here he and his followers stayed some time, enjoying their friendly hospitality, and here his miraculous powers again came into play. The son of an honest widow had a grievous boil on his neck, and as he could swallow no food in consequence, there seemed little chance for his life. The boy's mother went to the queen, whom she knew, and begged for some remedy. The queen referred her to Olaf, who laid his hands on the boy's neck so long a time that he made a wry face. Then the king took a piece of bread, broke it into the figure of a cross, and put it in the boy's mouth, who swallowed it and speedily recovered. Snorri adds that people at once perceived him to be one of those men who have been gifted by nature with the power of healing by the touch, and that afterwards, when his miracles became universally acknowledged, this also was numbered among them [1]. Was our touching for the king's evil connected with S. Olaf's handiwork? The author of our legend seems to have had some doubt about the authenticity of this miracle, as he does not mention it in his catalogue, though he does record another miracle, stated by Snorri, and in the Louvain Legendary (see p. 46 below), to have been performed by the saint in Russia (Storm, ii. 9). Another miracle is given in *Geisli* (xxviii.) and *Theod. Monachi Hist.* c. 24. The martyr appears to his son Magnus before a battle with the Wends at Hlyrskogs Heath in Denmark, and bids him take courage; and he won the battle. Another account is that the vision bade Magnus select twelve men of the best families in the army to bind up the wounds of his soldiers, and he promised that they should be endued with the power of healing ever after, nay, that the gift should be hereditary in their family (*Biskupa Sögur*, i. p. 639). Again, King Eric was thrown from his horse; his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged along, his head bumping against the stones. His attendants mourned him as one dead, but he was restored by S. Olaf whom they invoked (ibid. i. 743).

VII. During his stay in Russia Jarisleif offered him the throne of Vulgaria [2]. But his followers were averse to this proposal, hoping that he would

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 200.

[2] *Heimskr.* c. 198. The modern province of Kazan, east of the Volga.

be able to recover his lost kingdom. Their master, however, despairing of regaining his throne, resolved in his own mind to turn monk, and go to Jerusalem. It was at this juncture that king Olaf Tryggvason appeared to him in a dream, counselling him to regain his kingdom, or perish in the attempt. Nay, when he awoke he fancied he could see the shoulders of a man retiring from the apartment, being no other than his ghostly visitor. Accepting the omen, in spite of the remonstrances of his good friends, King Jarisleif and Queen Ingigerd, he started for Norway, and crossed the Baltic to the isle of Gotland, where he arrived just in time to hear the good news that Earl Hacon, who had been to England to fetch his English bride, had been lost in Pentland Frith on his way home[1], and that Norway was without a head. Against the advice of his friends in Norway, he prosecuted his advance thither across Sweden, and on his arrival in Vaerdale, at the head of the Trondhjem-fjord, mustered a force of more than 3000 men. Olaf's battle cry as he advanced to the field of Stikklestad was, 'Forward, forward, Christmen, Crossmen, Kingsmen!' The armour of the king is thus described by Snorri: 'Olaf wore a golden helmet; in one hand he bore a white shield, and in the other a spear, which is now preserved at Christ Church. Around him was girded his sword called Hneitir, the hilt of which was of gold, and the edge exceedingly trenchant. On his body he had a tunic of ringmail[2].' It was a beautiful morning, and the sun shone clear; but gradually it became a blood-red ball, the end being a total eclipse. The upshot of that luckless day is well known. One of the rebellious bonders smote the king with his axe below the knee, upon which he sank on a stone praying to God. Kalf wounded him on the left side of the neck; while Thorir Hund drove his spear under the coat of mail into his bowels. A great slaughter of the king's adherents and a general rout followed. Thorir Hund himself was filled with sudden remorse when he saw Olaf lifting up his eyes to heaven. He had received a wound in the hand, and the martyr's blood ran down his spear and healed the wound, leaving a thread-like scar only. Thorir proceeded to England to tell this astonishing piece of news to his principal, Canute. The king was greatly cast down; and, on Thorir asking him the reason, 'Ah!' said he, 'I had a foreboding one of us two would be a saint, and I imagined it would

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 195; *Saxon Chron.*; *Florent. Wigorn.*, A.D. 1030. [2] *Heimskr.* c. 225.

be myself. I will be the first to offer money at his shrine: and, as Olaf has become a saint, I shall not invade Norway.' So, the writer in *Fornmanna Sögur* (v. 207). But, according to *Heimskringla* (ibid. c. 242), subsequently to the battle, Thorir went to the spot where the dead king lay, composed his limbs, and wiped the blood from his cheeks: and while he was so engaged, the blood touched the wound between his finger and thumb, and healed it at once. The conscience-stricken murderer was greatly struck by the beauty of the king's face. Not as yet—

'Decay's effacing fingers
Had swept the lines where beauty lingers.'

Sooth to say, the king was in the very prime of manhood. He was only thirty-four. His noble countenance had been drawn by a careful observer; and the portrait, as the reader will remember, was exhibited by us on a previous page. Thus died Olaf, cordially hated by the majority of his subjects, yet greatly beloved by his nearest retainers. Of these was Thormod the scald, who, when the spear-head, at his own request, was being torn out of his own vitals, after the battle, died singing of the heroism of his master. Of these, too, was his other scald, Sigvat.

VIII. The beginning of their affectionate intimacy was on this wise. Sigvat, on his arrival at the Norwegian court of Nidaros from Iceland, made a lay in honour of the king, Olaf, and asked him to listen to it. Unlike his half-brother, Harold Hardrada, who was not only a skilful scald but the idol of the scalds, the king, in the early days of his conversion to Christianity, seems to have had a general prejudice against scalds and all their works, as savouring of heathenism. So he replied to Sigvat's invitation that he did not want poems composed about him, and that he did not understand the scald's craft. Then Sigvat sang—

'Spoiler of dark blue ocean's steeds!
Allow one scald to sing thy deeds;
And listen to the song of one
Who can sing well if any can.
For should the king despise all others,
And show no favour to my brothers,
Yet, I may all men's favour claim,
Who sing still of our great king's fame[1].'

[1] Laing's version of the songs has been generally followed, as being sufficiently literal for our purpose.

As a reward for his verse, the king gave Sigvat a gold ring that weighed half a mark, made him one of his sixty court retainers, and presented him with a sword (*Heimskringla*, c. 41). Later on the king's views about scalds seem to have become modified; for he not only tolerated Sigvat's and other scalds' verses in his presence, but also composed poetry himself. Some of his compositions are to be found in the Saga. One of these, in ten stanzas, commemorates his conquest of London (*Fornmanna Sögur*, v. 227). Sigvat was away on a pilgrimage to Rome by Olaf's leave at the time of the king's death. The tidings of it reached him in the South. Soon after he passed by a village and heard a husband wailing grievously over the loss of his wife, striking his breast, tearing his clothes, and weeping and saying he wished to die; and Sigvat sang—

'This poor man mourns a much-loved wife,
Gladly would he be quit of life,
But the brave man who knows no fear
Drops for his king a silent tear,
And feels perhaps his loss as deep
As those who clamour when they weep[1].'

Sigvat had once been petted by Canute, and he was now on Olaf's death invited to the court at Trondhjem by Canute's son, Swend, who was proclaimed king on the fall of Olaf; but he retired to his home. Here he would express his feelings thus—

'While Olaf lived how smiled the land!
Mountain and cliff and pebbly strand.
All Norway then, so fresh, so gay,
On land or sea, where oft I lay;
But now to me all seems so dreary,
All bleak and dull—of life I'm weary[2].'

A touch of pathos in a rude and savage age, which makes us feel that in those times men were not so unlike us after all. We have described Olaf Haraldson's cruelties to his subjects in forcing Chris-

[1] *Saga Magnus Goða*, c. 9 (*Heimskr.* p. 521).

[2] Sigvat was as true to King Magnus as he had been to his father the Saint. When the new king was commencing his reign with violence, and alienating the bonders, Sigvat performed the office of a candid friend, addressed him in his 'Free Speaking Song,' and thereby saved the kingdom. *Heimskr.* p. 526.

tianity upon them. Yet his predecessor on the throne, Olaf Tryggvason, was, as we have seen, not a whit less cruel. Then why was he the idol of his countrymen while his namesake was thoroughly detested? The answer to this question lies in the common saying, 'One man may steal a horse, while another may not look over the hedge.' There was a something in the elder Olaf's character which the younger wanted. With all his great capacity, S. Olaf was not nearly so brilliant a personage, so irresistibly winning, as Tryggvason, whose enthusiastic nature shed a sort of halo about the man and made people lose sight of the damning fact that, if his namesake was hard and cruel, Tryggvason 'was of all men most cruel.' (*Saga Olafs Tryggvas.* c. 92.) There was a sort of knightly grandeur about his violence, which softened the bitterness of his defeated foes. There was, so to say, in S. Olaf's zeal for Christianity an element of worldliness and calculation. He had more of Jacob than of Esau in his composition. His nature may have been deeper than Tryggvason's, but it was narrower. And his reforms are not free from personal vengefulness and hatred. Instances of small-minded persecution are told of him, which were rather calculated to stir up than to quell opposition. He cared not, like Tryggvason, to show placability at the right moment. But, above all, he had not the luck of his predecessor. The task before him was quite as momentous, but not so thankworthy.

IX. The elder Olaf was the leader in that great break between the old and the new, where the God of the Christians and the God of the heathens, with their respective adherents, met in a pitched battle; where, in the hot tumult of the fray, the individual combatants forgot their wounds—forgot that the victory was achieved at their own cost—in their admiration of the dash and power of the victor. Careful note must be taken of the spirit of the age, and of the people concerned. The Norwegians were a race whose tastes were warlike in the extreme, and who could appreciate warlike qualities.

Olaf Haraldson's task, on the other hand, was to follow up the victory in detail, to consolidate and arrange, to draw out the great consequences of the change in regard to the Laws and the Constitution. As Odd Munk said (*Saga Olafs Tryggvasonar,* Munch's ed. c. 39), 'Olaf

Tryggvason prepared and laid the foundations of Christianity, but S. Olaf raised the walls. Olaf Tryggvason planted the vineyard, but S. Olaf made the vine put forth its tendrils and produce fair fruit[1].'

But perhaps it will not be amiss to cite, in reference to S. Olaf's character, the words of Haldor Bryniulfson, a sensible man and a great chief. One day he heard people talking about S. Olaf and his half-brother Harald Hardrada, and saying how unlike they were. 'I was very intimate with both the brothers,' he put in, 'and knew well the dispositions of both, and I never knew men whose dispositions were more alike. They were both men of the greatest sagacity and very bold in arms; greedy of power and property, imperious and not skilled in winning popular favour, zealous of governing and severe in punishing. King Olaf forced the people into Christianity and good customs, and punished cruelly those who withstood him. This just and equal judgment the chiefs of the country could not bear, but raised an army against him, and killed him in his own kingdom. And for this he became a saint. King Harald, on the other hand, marauded to obtain glory and power, forced all the people he could under his rule, and died in another king's dominions[2].'

Let us next observe what Snorri himself thought about the matter. He tells us what were the three objects which Olaf Haraldson always kept in view while he sat upon the throne :—

1. To protect the country from the foreigner.
2. To convert the people to the true faith.
3. To punish evil-doers and to establish law on a right basis[3].

Surely a king who at that time of day acted upon such principles may well be called a righteous and conscientious ruler, and yet S. Olaf has been looked upon by many as a mere bloodthirsty villain. Laing, for instance, in his *Norway*, tells us that 'King Olaf Haraldson . . . appears to have been the most bloodthirsty tyrant who was ever canonized' (p. 52); and again, 'Never was a monarch opposed and cut off by his people on juster grounds' (*ibid.* 64)[4]. The reason why Olaf came to incur such an

[1] J. E. Sars, *Udsigt over den Norske Historie* (Christiania, 1873), vol. i. p. 235.

[2] *Saga Haralds Harðráða*, c. 105 (*Heimskr.* p. 627). [3] *Heimskr.* vii. c. 192, p. 453.

[4] Very different is the estimate of Lappenberg, *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, ii. 216.

amount of obloquy is not far to seek, if we read Snorri attentively. It had been the custom in Norway before Olaf's time for the sons of great men to go marauding about, both in the country and out of the country, upon their own countrymen and on strangers—in short, to turn Vikings. This King Olaf resolved to put down, cost what it might. And if any of the aristocracy were proved to have committed such depredations they must suffer in life or limb. No offer of money, no entreaties, could save them. As Sigvat sang—

'He made the bravest lose his head
Who robbed at sea and pirates led;
And his just sword gave peace to all,
Sparing no robber, great or small[1].'

'Hinc illae lacrimae.' He had made foes of the aristocracy; and this rendered them only too ready to transfer their allegiance to another, to accept the great sums of English and Danish money offered by King Canute, and to jump at the idea of greater dignities which he dangled before their eyes. Such is the key to the whole transaction. He had caged, and clipped the wings of the great birds of prey, and they turned and rent him with beak and claw. The masses were not implacable. It was not with Olaf, as with the Roman tyrant—

'. . . . periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
Coeperat.'

We may mention parenthetically that Snorri gives the lie to the accusation unjustly made against Olaf that he was niggardly with his money, whereas in fact he was a most generous man to his friends[2].

X. So the great men joined Canute and Swend's party, and deserted their own lawful king. But after the fall of Olaf at Stikklestad,

[1] *Heimskr.* vii. c. 192–193. The words of James I of Scotland on returning from England to take the rule of his lawless kingdom will recur to the reader: 'Let God but grant me life, and there shall not be a spot in my realm where the key shall not keep the castle, and the bracken-bush the cow, though I should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it.' This noble and uncompromising resolution to hold no terms with murder and robbery, and to enforce the laws on high and low alike, was an offence not to be pardoned by the Scotch aristocracy, and, like Olaf, James paid the penalty with his life.

[2] *Heimskr.* vii. c. 192.

a change came over the spirit of their dream. Canute broke his promises. He would not let the Norse aristocracy maintain that independence for which they had rebelled; nor could they in turn brook the Danish laws imported with Swend. These were oppressive, not to say extortionate, in the extreme. But what gave most offence was the enactment that in courts of law 'one Danish witness should invalidate ten Northmen[1].' All classes now awoke to the late king's great qualities, which they had overlooked in their outburst of blind rage amid the transition from old to new. The result soon appeared. At Stikklestad it was not without difficulty that their leaders had got the people to fight when they saw the fiery king face to face, advancing from the Shieldborg to put himself at the head of his battle-array, as Sigvat sang:—

> 'To meet King Olaf's lion glance
> They shrank with fear, and looked askance:
> Clear as the serpent's eye, his look
> No Trondhjem man could see and brook,
> But cowering down he slunk away,
> Knowing his king, and cursed the day[2].'

The total eclipse, too, of the sun had worked upon their superstitious feelings. And when the battle was over, a wonderful terror seized upon the victors, which made them abstain from plundering the dead, to many of whom they gave Christian burial. We have already mentioned the sudden remorse felt by Thorir Hund. The rebellious peasant host broke up in a very short space of time, and its leaders dispersed as soon as they heard that Olaf's retreating army had repassed the Keel Mountains. 'The very winter that Olaf fell,' says Snorri, 'many in the Trondhjem land began to declare that Olaf was in reality a holy man, and his sanctity was confirmed by many miracles. Many began to make promises and prayers to King Olaf in the matters in which they wanted help, and many derived great benefit from these invocations, whether it was in respect of health, or a journey, or other circumstances in which such help seemed needful[3].' In the next summer the reaction grew, and Snorri remarks with

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 253, p. 503.
[2] *Olaf den Hell. Saga*, c. 224.
[3] *Heimskr.* c. 254; *Olaf den Hell. Saga*, c. 240.

sly gravity. 'Many believed that Olaf must be a Saint, even among those who had persecuted him with the greatest animosity[1].' Under the auspices of the nobles, with Einar Tambarskelver at their head, a complete revulsion of popular feeling ensued[2]. Some of the late king's chief foes found the country too hot to hold them. Bishop Sigurd, for instance, who had been especially violent against his patron, found it advisable to go over to England to King Canute[3]. A messenger was at once despatched to the Uplands to fetch Olaf's favourite friend and adviser, Bishop Grimkel. Grimkel came, had an audience with the alien King Swend, and his mother Alfifa, and on his alleging that certain miracles had been effected by the deceased Olaf—notably, that a blind man had been cured through touching the water in which his corpse had been washed—he obtained permission to disinter the body. This had been secretly placed in a coffin by faithful friends soon after the battle. It was then carried down the Fjord in a small boat, and buried in a sandhill at the capital. On proceeding to dig for the body, it was found that the occupation of the diggers was pretty nigh forestalled, for the coffin had already raised itself almost to the surface of the earth. Moreover it appeared quite new, and on opening it a delightful and fresh smell arose from it. The cheeks were red, as if the king were asleep, while his hair and nails had grown as much as if he had lived on earth since his fall. King Swend and his mother Alfifa came to see the wondrous sight. A remarkable colloquy then took place. The queen-mother saw what was at stake. Make the late king a saint, and goodbye to the throne of Norway! So she dryly remarked, 'People buried in sand rot very slowly. It would not have been so if he had been buried in mould.' Afterwards the bishop took scissors and clipped the king's hair and beard. 'See,' cried he, 'how the hair and beard have grown.'

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 257.

[2] History repeats itself:—

First citizen. 'This Cæsar was a tyrant.'
Third citizen. 'Nay, that's certain:
We are blessed that Rome is rid of him.'

But later on, after Antony's subtle speech:—

Second citizen. 'Most noble Cæsar! We'll revenge his death.'
Third citizen. 'O royal Cæsar.'—*Julius Cæsar*, Act iii. Scene 1.

[3] *Heimskr.* c. 257.

Alfifa replied, 'I will believe in the sanctity of his hair if it will not burn in fire. I have often seen men's hair undamaged after lying underground much longer than this man's.' The bishop then put live coals in a pan, blessed them, cast incense upon them, and laid King Olaf's hair on the fire. When all the incense was consumed, the hair still remained intact. Alfifa asked that the hair might be placed on *unconsecrated* fire. But that great man, Einar Tambarskelver, whom the royal party could not venture to offend, hushed her down, and a Thing being summoned by permission of the king, who made a virtue of necessity, it was determined that Olaf should be considered truly holy. The royal party—or rather Alfifa, who was the real ruler, Swend being a puppet in her hands—had resisted as long as they decently could. They now gave way. The body was removed to S. Clement's Church, which was a considerable distance off in the city, and was placed in a coffin near the high altar under a gold-embroidered canopy, and exposed to popular veneration. Subsequently it was removed to Christ Church, the present cathedral[1]. Sigvat, his friend, was of course not silent.

'I lie not when I say the king
Seemed as alive in everything,
His nails, his yellow hair all growing,
And round his ruddy cheek still flowing.'

But even the Icelandic poet Thorarin Loftunge, a scald who had won great distinction at the English court, and was now poet laureate to Swend, ventured in an ode, called *Glælogn*, upon his patron the new king, to express the all-potent feeling of the day, that the martyr had become a saint. The king and queen must have felt ill at ease as they heard stanzas like these fall from his lips:—

'Swend king of all
In Olaf's hall—
May our gold-giver
Live here for ever—
Now sits on high,
And Olaf's eye

From heaven looks down,
Where saintly crown,
Of life-long deed,
The glorious meed,
At length he has won
Next God's own Son.

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 258, 259. Cf. *Saga Magnus Góða*, c. 11. Christ Church was built by King Olaf 'Kyrre.' For an account of Archbishop Eystein's rebuilding of it, see below, p. 62.

His holy form,
Untouched by worm,
Lies at this day
Where good men pray,
And nails and hair
Grow fresh and fair;
His cheek is red,
His flesh not dead.

Around his bier
Good people hear
The small bells ring,
Over the king,
Or great bell toll;
And living soul
Not one can tell
Who tolls the bell.
. . . . . .

And crowds do come,
The deaf and dumb,
Cripple and blind,
Sick of all kind,
Cured to be
On bended knee;
And off the ground
Rise whole and sound.

To Olaf pray
To eke thy day,
To save thy land
From spoiler's hand;
God's man is he
To deal to thee
Good crops and peace:
Let not prayer cease[1].'

What the cool-headed historian, Snorri Sturluson, who cites this old lay, as well as the poem of Olaf's favourite, Sigvat, thought about the matter is clear from his passing commentary thereon. 'When Thorarin says that a multitude of lame, blind, and other sick, who came to the holy Olaf, went back cured, he means nothing more than that there were a great many persons who, at the beginning of king Olaf's miraculous working, regained their health.'

In his account of the Saint's miracles, the arrangement of which is quite arbitrary, Snorri derived great help from Priest Einar Skulason's poem *Geisli*[2] (=The Ray). This was composed at the request of King Eystein, and performed in the summer of 1152, in Christ Church, Trondhjem, in the presence of the court, Cardinal Nicholas (Break-

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 259. We constantly read in the Sagas how, in the eyes of the vulgar, kings were looked upon as the authors of good seasons, or the contrary, i. e. exercised an influence upon the state of the weather, a superstition which can hardly be said to be extinct even at the present day. Snorri, be it said, visited Norway about 1221 to pick up information for his historical work. He was born 1178, murdered 1241.

[2] *Flateyb.* I. 1–5, Christiania, 1860; Munch, *Norske Folks Historie*, ii. 866. Einar Skulason was born about 1095 in Iceland; at twenty years of age he went to Norway, and was with King Sigurd the Crusader, and afterwards with King Harald Gille. After residing in Iceland from 1135–1145, he returned to Norway, rose to high favour with King Eystein Haraldson, and became his marshal.—*Diplom. Islandicum*, p. 189.

spear), and Archbishop Jón, who was then made first Archbishop of Nidaros[1]. It runs to the length of sixty-eight stanzas, with a burden interspersed. We will give a short syllabus of its contents. It commences, 'Now let us all praise the noble ray of the Hall Divine, the Hero named Olaf, the all-mighty one celebrate. He is renowned far and wide under the windy heavens (mark well what I say) for his many miracles. Listen King Eystein; listen Primate Jón! All ye people of Trondhjem, and all ye of Norway, listen! The manly scald Sigvat recounted his deeds, Ottar also. When he fell, the Lord of Heaven gave a sign, the sun was eclipsed (xix). A light like a torch, on the day of his death, burned over his corpse (xx). His friends took his body to a cottage, and washed it. A blind man came thither, and stumbled in the bloody water, touched his eyes with his hands, and regained his sight (xxii, xxiii). His corpse was buried in the sand for twelve months and five nights (xxv). Here a man, whose tongue had been cut out, regained his speech (xxvi). He appeared in a dream to his son Magnus before the battle of Hlyrskogs Heath in Jutland, against the Wends (A.D. 1043), and promised his aid (xxviii). By his help Guthorm gained a victory over Margod[2] (xxxi). The loaves baked by the Danish girl on S. Olaf's day were turned to stone (xxxii). A noble lady for some light cause had a man's tongue cut out. He was cured in Christ Church (xxxiv). The Wends cut out a man's tongue, who was cured in Christ Church (xxxviii). Olaf's sword Hneitir was caught up by a Swede after the Battle of Stikklestad. A miracle was afterwards performed by it at Constantinople; as related by Eindridi (xli, sqq.). The Værings were saved from defeat at the Battle of Pezin in Bulgaria by praying to S. Olaf. A priest whose tongue had been cut away, and eyes pulled out, was cured by S. Olaf (xlviii, sqq.).' Such are the contents of this famous production. There are thirteen miracles in all, briefly recorded in the piece.

XI. But let us return for a while to the political result of the movement. Before long, the machinations of the aristocracy again produced the effect desired. In four years after the battle of Stikklestad, the Danish dynasty had perforce to retire from the scene. The

[1] So *Diplom. Islandicum*, p. 189, cf. p. 205. [2] See below, p. 75.

martyr's illegitimate son, Magnus, was summoned from Russia and made King of Norway amid universal rejoicing. On regaining his throne he had a shrine made in shape and size like a coffin, mounted with gold and studded with jewels, and in front there were padlocks with keys, which the King kept in his custody[1]. Into this shrine, which weighed more than 3000 oz. of silver, he put Olaf's remains. Each month he had the hair and nails clipped. A law was passed making the day of S. Olaf's death a festival for ever. The shrine was visited by pilgrims from distant nations[2], and was a source of great wealth to Trondhjem Cathedral[3]. On grand occasions, as on S. Olaf's day and at the election of a king, it was carried in procession[4].

According to *Chron. Manniae*, 1098 (ed. P. A. Munch), Magnus Barefoot, or Barelegs,—so called by his subjects because he adopted the kilt during his six years' stay in the West,—was seized with a desire to open the tomb of S. Olaf. The bishop and clergy resisted; but he ordered the shrine to be opened by force. After beholding and touching the body, which was incorrupt, he was struck with a sudden panic, and left the place with what haste he could. The next night S. Olaf appeared to him, and said, 'Choose one of two things: either to lose your life and kingdom within thirty days, or to depart from Norway, and never to see it again.' He immediately sailed for the Orkneys, with a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships. After subjugating these, with the rest of the Western Isles, he came to Man. He next made an exploring voyage to Ireland, where he was surprised and killed, and was buried at S. Patrick's Church in Down. 'The Chronicle, however,' says Munch, 'errs in making the king fall in 1098, as this did not occur till 1103, on his second expedition, as recorded by Ordericus Vitalis. Nor is the motive assigned for his Western enterprise the true one. It may have been a tradition in the Isle of Man, but this tradition seems to have been derived from what is told in the Saga of the grandfather of this King Magnus, Harald Hardrada, who on the

[1] *Saga Magnus Góða*, c. 11.

[2] They are specially protected by an edict of King Erik Magnusson, dated Nov. 25, 1297. *Diplom. Norvagicum*, i. 79.

[3] F. Johannaei *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 170; *Laurent. Saga*, c. 8.

[4] *Hacon Haconsons Saga*, 207 (198), 208 (199).

eve of sailing for England, in 1066, had the shrine of S. Olaf opened, cut the nails and the hair of the Saint, and having reclosed and locked the shrine, threw the key into the Nid (c. 83), and it is expressly added that the shrine was not opened for the next 180 years, so that it is impossible King Magnus could have done it.' The real object of Magnus in this expedition was, that he might secure his power in the Orkneys and the Western Islands. S. Olaf by-the-by appeared to Hardrada in a dream before he sailed, and chaunted the following verses—

'In many a fight
My name was bright;
Men weep and tell
How Olaf fell.
Thy death is near;
Thy corpse, I fear,
The crow will feed,
The witch-wife's steed[1].'

The end of the Olaf-worship is soon told. The last Archbishop of Trondhjem, Olaf Engelbretson, took the shrine with him to his strong castle of Steinviksholm. It then fell into the hands of the Danes, who carried it off to Copenhagen[2]. When the Swedes took Trondhjem, in 1564, the only relics of the Saint to be found were his helmet and spurs, which they removed to Stockholm, where they are deposited in the church of S. Nicholas. The body of the Saint, however, which was in a wooden coffin, is said to have been built into a wall in the cathedral[3].

So much for the venerated relics of the sainted king, and what became of them.

XII. We have seen above the circumstances which combined to bring about Olaf's canonization. They were, like the circumstances which worked together for his downfall, more complex than is generally supposed. Besides much personal sympathy, there was also a strong political element at work. His cult spread rapidly through the length and breadth of the North and countries adjoining. Most of Northern Europe was before long burning incense at his sepulchre. In fact, Olaf-worship became the most salient feature in the new religion. Popular imagination was kindled by his name. Churches were built

[1] *Saga Haralds Harðráða*, c. 85.
[2] The receipt for it is still preserved.
[3] A shirt worn by him is shown at S. Victoire, Paris: *Dictionnaire Hagiographique*, tom. ii. (*Encyclopédie Théologique*).

everywhere in his honour[1]; he became the patron Saint of the land; while in the region of folk-lore he came to play the part of the god Thor in the old national religion, as the protector of the country against Trolls and demons, in the same way as the legend of S. George was mixed up with that of Sigurd the dragon-slayer.

But Olaf may be regarded in another capacity. With him, Norwegian sovereignty entered on a new phase. It was now looked upon as the centre of order and legality, while it had the religious sanction which it wanted in the days of heathenism. Sovereignty had hitherto been regarded as the result of a compact between the people and the descendants of Harald Harfager. Henceforth the monarch was King by the grace of God, although Magnus Erlingson was first in formal documents styled as such. The great families no longer aimed at being independent sovereigns under a foreign overlord. Pride of lineage yielded to the idea of national unity. And so S. Olaf is rightly styled the second founder of the Norwegian realm[2].

Adam of Bremen, a very trustworthy historian, in his Ecclesiastical History, written 1073–1076, i.e. a very few years after the battle of Stikklestad, pays a very high tribute to Olaf's qualities as a Christian and a ruler. He states that King Olaf was constantly at war with Canute, but, in the intervals of peace, he governed his kingdom with judgment and justice. He had a great zeal to Godward. He made war, continues Adam of Bremen, upon the innumerable magicians, necromancers, and other satellites of Antichrist. With him were many bishops and priests from England, by whose counsels he was guided in directing the affairs of the country. Such were Sigfried, Grimkel, and Rudolf[3]. And he

[1] Notably that of Upsala, where Olaf shared with S. Eric and S. Laurence the honours of the dedication of the cathedral. In distant Greenland he also gave his name to churches (*Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 310). The same was the case in Paris, at Rouen, and in Belgium; and his cult extended to the Spanish Peninsula. Christina, daughter of Hacon, King of Norway, was married to Alfonso, brother of the King of Castile, and she prevailed on him to erect a church to S. Olaf. At Constantinople churches were dedicated to him. His worship also extended to Poland at a later period; see Swedish Breviary (Plantin, Antwerp, 1671); cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, vii. 87.

[2] Sars, *Den Norske Historie*, i. 245.

[3] Most likely many of the inferior clergy, as well as bishops, came from England. He also sent messengers to Bishop Unvan of Bremen (1013–1029) for help. Cf. *Norges Gamle Love*, i. 9.

continues thus, 'Igitur Olaph, Rex et Martyr, ut credimus, tali fine consummatus est. Corpus ejus in civitate magna regni sui Throndemnis cum decenti est honore tumulatum. Ubi hodieque pluribus miraculis et sanitatibus, quae per eum fiunt, Dominus ostendere dignatur, quanti meriti sit in celis, qui sic glorificatur in terris. Regnavit autem XII annis. Agitur festivitas ejus IV Kal. Augusti omnibus Septentrionalis Oceani populis: Nortmannorum, Sueonum, Gothorum, Semborum (?), Danorum, atque Sclavorum, eterno cultu memorabilis[1].' But Olaf had English Chroniclers too in his favour. Florence of Worcester (1030) writes: 'S. Olaf, King and Martyr, whom King Canute had expelled, returns to Norway, and is unjustly slain by the Norwegians[2].' A similar testimony is borne by William of Jumièges (cf. note 4, p. 68 of our legend). He pronounces him 'a martyr impiously slain by his own subjects.' William of Malmesbury, it is true, does not regard his memory so tenderly. He recounts an ugly tale of his treatment of a poor captive, the English lady Elfildis, who became by him mother of the future King Magnus of Norway. But the historian, while inveighing against the unbridled passion of the king, mentions that he was only acting according to the custom of the country, 'pro more gentis suae.' Matters of this sort would perhaps be looked upon with more lenient eyes by the Icelandic historians, according to whom, whatever indiscretions Olaf was guilty of in his Viking days, he was greatly altered for the better afterwards[3].

From what has been said above, it follows as a matter of course that Olaf's name appeared in the Church Services. In the Breviaries of Nidaros and Sleswig, of Skara and of Linköping, both in Sweden, and of Aarhus, in Jutland, there are records of his miracles to be read regularly on the anniversary of his martyrdom. But this rapid extension of the new worship will seem less surprising when we consider that in the North Christianity struck root, so to say, in virgin soil, where the ground was not encumbered by a crowd of saints of all nations. Olaf, we must remember, was no unknown foreign saint, but a real native of the country, who had made its name glorious abroad,

[1] *Hammaburg, Eccles. Pontif.* ii. 59 (Pertz, *Scriptores*, vii. 327).
[2] *Gesta Pontificum*, v. sect. 259.
[3] *Fornmanna Sögur*, v. 226, 231.

and held his own with the foreigner. And consequently the feeling of national pride was involved in the matter.

Hector Boethius, in his *Historia Scotorum* (Lib. xi, p. 244), published in 1526, gives remarkable, if not very trustworthy, testimony to the early spread of Olaf-worship. The Danes were beaten with great slaughter in a battle at Cruden in Buchan[1], by King Malcolm, son of Kenneth, who died A.D. 1040. After the battle, the king ordered the corpses of the Danes to be buried, and a church dedicated to S. Olaf to be erected on the spot. The historian's words are, 'Malcolmus Danos ac Scotos, qui certamine occiderant, solenni apparatu efferri suis jussit, ceteros in sancto agro condere. Templum inde ibidem constructum dedicatumque, et in eo sacerdotes ad sacra obeunda, salario ex publico ad inpensas tributo, instituti. Veteris illius templi Divo Olavo, in cujus tutela Danorum Norwegicorumque regnum est, aliquot post tempora, ut monumentum esset multam illarum gentium nobilitatem reconditoria illic habere, tum sacrati, vel hoc seculo extant vestigia.' We are not therefore surprised to find a regular office of six lections for the Saint in the Aberdeen Breviary (see Appendix I), although curiously enough it is fixed on III Kal. April (30 March), with this rubrical instruction—'Si festa sanctorum Olavi Martyris et Reguli abbatis infra passionem contigerint, seu octavas Paschae, transferri debent, videlicet dies Olavi usque ad quartas Kalendas Augusti, quo die passio ejusdem celebratur,' &c.[2]

XIII. The river Waveney, at Herringfleet in Suffolk, is even now crossed by S. Olaf's Bridge. In the reign of King Henry III there was a priory built there in honour of S. Mary and S. Olaf. At Poughill in Cornwall, the church bears his name, and also at Creeting, Suffolk. In Orkney there was S. Ollow's parish, now included in that of Kirkwall, where also was S. Ollow's bridge. In the neighbouring Shetland, according to Hibbert[3], there were churches dedicated to Our Lady, S. Olla, S. Magnus[4], S. Laurence, S. John, S. Paul, and

[1] S. Olaf's fair was held there. He is also found in the Island of Lewis (Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 27); and an altar was dedicated to him in S. Salvator's College, S. Andrews. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*.

[2] *Breviarium Aberdonense*, London, 1854, from a MS. mentioned in an inventory of books of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, of the year 1436; see Preface by D. Laing.

[3] *Shetland Isles*, p. 460.

[4] See Appendix II.

S. Sineva[1], some of which, however, were erected by foreign seamen, in fulfilment of a vow to some tutelar saint. The Shetlanders boasted that they had received their laws from the Saint; and in their ancient songs, 'vissacks' or 'visecks' (=Is. 'visar'), which formed an accompaniment to their dances, and which were still in vogue not long before Lowe's visit to Shetland in 1774, he occupied a prominent place. The writer in the Bollandists (July 29, vii. 88) argues from the number of parish churches dedicated to the Saint in London that he must have been extensively worshipped in England, and received into the English Calendar[2]. These were as follows: S. Olave's, on the west side of Bread Street Hill, in Queenhithe, burnt down at the Great Fire, when the parish was annexed to S. Nicholas, Cole Abbey; S. Olave's, Hart Street; S. Olave's, Old Jewry, rebuilt after the fire; S. Olave's, Silver Street[3], in the ward of Aldersgate, burnt down at the Great Fire, and annexed to S. Alban's, Wood Street[4]. In Southwark also is a church with his name, just below London Bridge. Exeter, Chichester, Chester[5], and York still have churches dedicated to him. Dugdale[6] states that in the reign of William the Conqueror, Alan, Earl of Bretagne, gave S. Olaf's Church at York[7], with four acres of land to build offices upon (the 'caput abbatiae' of S. Mary's), to certain monks from Whitby;

[1] Called also Synova or Sunniva. See Appendix III.

[2] He cites in illustration of this the *Codex Altempsianus*, which belonged to the Church of Winchester, and is mentioned in the Auctaria to Usuardus; *AA. SS. Boll., Jun.*, tom. vii, part II, pref. p. lxiii, p. 434. Olaf's name does not occur in the York Breviary now publishing by the Surtees Society.

[3] The cult of the Saint may be traced very late. 'On the 29th. of July, being S. Olave's day, was the church holiday in Silver Street, the parish church whereof was dedicated to that Saint. And at eight of the clock at night began a stage-play, of a goodly matter [relating, it is like, to that Saint], that continued unto twelve at midnight; and then they made an end with a good song.' Strype's *Memor. Ecclesiastical*, vol. iii, p. 11, an. 1557; from H. Machyn's *Diary*, p. 145 (Camden Soc.).

[4] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, I. 508.

[5] A gift of this Church and land adjoining was made in the year 1101 by Ricardus Pincerna, and confirmed by Richard Earl of Chester in 1119. Ormerod's *Cheshire*, I. 272.

[6] *Monasticon*, III. 529, 530, 548.

[7] Built by Siward, the Danish Earl of Northumberland, and very soon after the canonization of the king. For we read '1055. Died Siward the Earl at York, and he lies buried at Galmanho, in the minster which he himself built and hallowed in God and Olaf's name.' *A. S. Chron.* D.

which shows that Alan found the dedication already existing. In 1089, according to an ancient parchment, the dedication of the abbey was changed from S. Olaf's to S. Mary's. So that in a wonderfully short space of time churches were dedicated to him in the northern and southern capitals. Mr. Parker, *Anglican Church Kalendar*, p. 268, states the number of such dedications as fourteen.

With reference to the churches in London itself, we find an interesting anecdote related by Snorri (A.D. 1230)[1]. 'In Valland (i.e. the North-west of France) there was a cripple, so infirm that he went upon knees and knuckles. One day he fell asleep by the way side, when he dreamt that a man of worshipful mien came to him and asked him whither he was going. He mentioned a certain abode. The worshipful man said to him, "Go to Olaf's Church in London, and there you will be cured." On awaking he set off in quest of Olaf's Church. At length he came to London Bridge, and asked the citizens if they could tell him where Olaf's Church was. And they answered and said, there were many more churches than that they could tell to whom they were dedicated. A little later a man came to him, and asked where he was going. He answered to him and said that he would fare to Olaf's Church. The other said, "We will both fare together to Olaf's Church, for I know the way thither. After this they fared over the Bridge, and along that street that led towards Olaf's Church[2]. When they came to the churchyard gate, the other strode over the threshold. But the cripple rolled himself over it, and at once rose up whole. And when he looked round, his companion had vanished.'

Snorri, however, as before hinted, made quite an arbitrary arrangement of the miracles, placing them in the various Kings' Sagas. Thus he appropriates to Magnus the Good and Harald Hardrada's time Nos. ii, iii, iv, in the second chapter of the legend (Storm), as well as the miracle of the French cripple just given. To Olaf Kyrre's time he assigns No. xviii, and the miracle of the child's corpse which was found under the street in Nidaros, at a spot where, when the coffin of S. Olaf

[1] *Olaf den Helliges Saga* (claimed by Professor Munch to be the veritable work of Snorri), c. 269, edd. Munch and Unger, Christiania, 1853. Compare also *Leg. Saga*, c. 118.

[2] Tooley Street in the Borough derives its name from the Saint.

was being carried in procession, it became too heavy to move. The source of this legend is not known[1]. To Magnus Barefoot he assigns Nos. xi and vii, to his sons Nos. xii and v, and to Harald Gille's sons, vi and viii.

Although the shrine of the Saint was removed from his country, and the very place where his bones rest is not known, yet his name lives on in popular superstition. Fountains of water, which issued forth to give him drink when he thirsted, and which are possessed of miraculous powers, are still pointed out[2]. The name of the Saint, who, by introducing Christianity, had rescued the poor ignorant natives from the power of Satan and his myrmidons, became associated, as we have seen above, in the national folk-lore with the heroes of the old mythology, with the god Thor, and the wars which he waged with the Trolls and giants. The Saint's axe would do duty for the god's hammer; Mjölnir and his charger would take the place of the goats which draw the Thunderer's chariot. His church-building introduced the sound of bells into their retreats, which these beings could not endure; while his constant weapon of offence and defence, the Holy Rood, was equally distasteful and calamitous to them. All over the North the traveller meets with confirmation strong of the power he exercised over them. The rock of Hornelen or Bremanger in Norway, which is some 2500 feet high, was formerly part of the isle called Marö, but now there is a sound between them. This was the work of the Saint. So says the Danish ballad[3].

S. OLAF AT HORNELEN.

1. 'Saint Olaf, good king, o'er Norway's land
So well and so wisely reign'd,
God's word he made wife and man obey,
And justice and law maintain'd.
Red as gold gleams the sun o'er Trondhjem.

[1] *Saga Olafs Kyrra*, c. 7, in *Heimskr.* p. 632.

[2] In Norway *asplenium septentrionale* is known as 'S. Olafs beard.' In Iceland *oxyria reniformis* as 'S. Olafs sorrel.'

[3] *Danmark's Gamle Volkeviser*, S. Grundtvig, 51, p. 140; Vedel, vol. ii, p. 15, and Prior's *Danish Ballads*. The old editor, Vedel, explains these reminiscences in the popular ballads of S. Olaf's power over the Trolls to mean, that by spreading the knowledge of God's word, he rescued the simple natives from the power of Satan and his evil spirits, which oppressed them in the days of error and ignorance. Grundtvig suggests that the MS. before Vedel must have been a Norwegian and not a Danish one. The subject did not escape Öhlenschläger, *Folkeviser*, 144.

2. Saint Olaf down on the ocean strand
Had built him a gallant Snake[1],
And now on the Trolls at Hornelen,
His vengeance resolved to take.

3. Answered the steersman as on the broad deck
With tiller in hand he stood;
"So loathly the Trolls at Hornelen,
That harbour was never good."

4. Up spake King Olaf so free and bold,
And sprang on his Ox's[2] prow;
"Take tackle on board, and now cast off,
In Jesus' name let go."

5. The Ox he puff'd, and loud he blew,
And over the billows strode;
So sail'd Saint Olaf to Hornelen,
With woe to the Trolls' abode.

6. The giant he stalk'd from out the hill,
Along the hoary rocks,
And saw there Olaf the sainted king,
And breasting the wave his Ox.

7. His eyes were like two burning pyres,
And yawning his mouth to shout;
Beyond his fingers his finger-nails,
Like the horns of a goat, stuck out.

8. A beard he had like a horse's mane,
That hung to touch his knee;
His tail was long, and shagg'd with hair,
And fearful his claws to see.

9. "There never in older times or since
A Snake-ship has come to land,
That off to my cavern I could not drag,
With only a single hand."

10. "Then," answer'd him Olaf, the sainted king—
He fear'd not a Trollish foe—
"Throw over the Ox thy cords and chains,
And see how that will go."

[1] Snekke = Isl. Snekkja, Engl. 'smack,' 'a snake-ship,' so called from its swift snake-like movement.

[2] The name of his ship.

11. The Ox he seiz'd by his horn and stern,
And thought to have crush'd with ease,
But into the cliff he sank himself,
Till over both his knees.

12. "Though here I must stand a sunken rock,
And further I cannot move,
A strain of the back, and tug of hand,
With thee I would gladly prove."

13. "Hold thou thy peace, thou foulest sprite,
And there as a rock remain[1];
For never till Doomsday hurt shalt thou
A Christian man again."

14. Out ran from a cavern an aged hag,
And yell'd with a voice so shrill,
And look'd so grim, as she hobbled along,
He bade the old crone be still.

15. Much wonder'd at this the smaller Trolls,
Who dwelt on the rocky shore;
"But what has befallen our mother old,
That now she cries no more?

16. Then surely this is the Redbeard Saint
Who long has threaten'd our race;
If we with our iron bars come out,
We'll give him but little grace."

17. But turn'd were their trunks to shapeless blocks,
Their necks to their body press'd,
Their backs all broken to pieces small,
And heads crush'd into their breast.

18. Such wonder at Hornelen then was wrought,
As never was wrought before;
The cave with water was drown'd so deep,
That no one could find the door.

19. So thanks let all men give to God,
And thanks to Saint Olaf too,
The sailor to Hornelen now may steer,
Nor care for what Trolls may do.'

This same 'Ox' figures in another Danish ballad, describing S. Olaf's voyage from England to regain his Norwegian throne. He has

[1] So said, so done. The petrified Troll is still plain to be seen by those who sail by.

made a bet with his brother Harald that he will get there first, although they have exchanged ships, and 'The Dragon,' which he has given up to Harald, is the quicker sailer of the two. He who arrives first is to wear the crown. But the ship Olaf sails in becomes endowed with supernatural swiftness[1]. Vedel remarks that this ballad is imaginative, and not based on history. When S. Olaf fell at the battle of Stikklestad, his half-brother Harald was only fifteen years old. As for his sailing through mountains and vales, it merely refers to his occasionally dragging his ship ashore, over a tongue of land, to some neighbouring haven. So, when beset by Earl Hacon of Denmark, in Vigge Sound, he made himself a way through, and escaped to Russia.

SAINT OLAF'S VOYAGE.

1. 'Olaf and Harald disagreed,
Which should to Norway's rocks succeed.
At Trondhjem so pleasant it is to rest.

2. "Which of us two the best can sail,
Shall rule all Norway, hill and dale.

3. Which of us first shall reach the strand,
Shall king be crown'd of all the land."

4. 'Twas Harald Hardrada answer made,
"Be it even so, as thou hast said.

5. But, if I sail to-day with thee,
Then thou shalt change thy ship with me;

6. For with thy Dragon's[2] rapid pace
How is my drudging Ox to race?

7. Like wind-borne cloud thy Dragon flies,
My Ox his way as slowly plies."

8. "Harald, if so it pleases thee,
I will to these thy terms agree.

9. If mine is a better one than thine,
I'll take thy ship, and give thee mine.

[1] Grundtvig, 50, p. 134, Part 2; cf. Faye, *Norske Folkesagen*, 103–124.

[2] 'Kings of the main their leaders brave,
Their Ships the Dragons of the wave.'
Lay of the Last Minstrel, vi. 22.

10. The lively Dragon thou shalt take,
And I with the Ox my voyage make.

11. But first we both to church will go,
Before we either sail or row."

12. As Olaf through the churchyard strode,
Like golden thread his tresses glow'd.

13. A message came in haste to say,
"Thy brother Harald sails away."

14. "So let them sail, if sail they will,
To God's word we will listen still.

15. But while at Mass I hear His word,
Go ye, and water take on board."

16. "We go to table, eat our meal,
And hasten then to launch our keel."

17. "They took their meal, and sought the strand,
Where lay the tardy Ox at land;

18. And water, anchor, rope and oar
They quickly aboard their vessel bore."

19. Saint Olaf sat on the ship's prow;
"Now, Ox, in name of Jesus go."

20. Saint Olaf seized his long white horn;
"Now go, as if in fields of corn."

21. Such strides the Ox began to make,
That high with billows foam'd the wake.

22. "See, thou who sittest on the mast,
If Harald's ship we are catching fast."

23. "For all the world naught else I see,
Than just the top of a lofty tree.

24. And now I see near Norway's land
A silken sail with golden band.

25. And now where Norway's shoals must lie,
I see the Dragon's mainsail fly.

26. I see just under Norway's side,
With rapid leaps the Dragon stride."

27. A blow on the Ox's ribs he gave;
"Put out thy strength and dance the wave."

28. Saint Olaf struck him across the eye;
"Now faster still to harbour hie."

29. The Ox began to plunge and leap,
Their legs the crew no more could keep.

30. He took him cords of flax and bast,
And bound his sailors to the mast.

31. "How shall we sail?" the steersman cried,
"And who shall now the vessel guide?"

32. Olaf the Saint unglov'd his hand,
Himself went at the helm to stand.

33. "We sail o'er hills and cliffs to-day,
Just where we find the nearest way."

34. Forth forth they go, and hill and dale
Melt into waves as on they sail.

35. They scud through fell and mountain blue;
And scare the cavern'd Elfin crew.

36. "Who sails there through my treasured heap,
To make my aged father weep?"

37. "Turn thee to stone, and stone remain,
And wait till I come back again."

38. They sail'd across the hills of Scone,
And froze the swarthy Elves to stone.

39. There stood a hag with spinning wheel;
"And why should we thine anger feel?

40. Saint Olaf, thou, with ruddy beard,
Thy ship hast through my cellar steer'd."

41. The Saint look'd back, "Thou hag of Scone,
Stand there and turn to granite stone."

42. Onward without mishap they sped,
Before them rock and forest fled.

43. So swift they left them all astern,
No eye could longer aught discern.

44. Saint Olaf forward aim'd his bow,
The shaft fell on the deck below.

45. Down from the prow he shot the shaft,
It reach'd the frothing sea abaft.

46. Saint Olaf, who on God relied,
Three days the first his home descried.

47. Harald so fierce with anger burn'd,
He into a loathly dragon turn'd.

48. A pious zeal Saint Olaf bore,
And so the crown of Norway wore.

49. And now to church Saint Olaf went
Humbly his heartfelt thanks to vent:

50. And while he round the churchyard paced,
His streaming hair a glory graced.

51. Whom God assists will win their aim,
Their foes win naught but grief and shame.
At Trondhjem so pleasant it is to rest.'

This ballad is full of ideal beauty. The calm self-possession of the Saint and the rashness of Harald the Stern are well contrasted. Olaf's piety in going to church before setting out on the voyage is characteristic of the Saint. But see an anecdote in our legend, p. 82.

It was no ordinary poet who could describe the swiftness of the vessel as such that an arrow shot from it was overtaken in its flight, and fell upon the deck, or even in the water abaft.

This legend, though, as Grimm has observed, it is not recorded in any of the *bona fide* old Chronicles, may have arisen from the fabled exploit of Olaf cutting through the neck of land which lay between the Maelar lake and the Baltic, and thus escaping with his ships from the pursuing Swedes[1]. But in this narration the god Thor and his exploits against the 'Hill-folk' are looming in the distance.

The goblin tale is told somewhat differently in 'Tröllini i Hornalondum[2],' an old ditty of the Faroes. The ballad runs to the length of sixty-seven stanzas in the soft Faroese dialect. The gist of it is as follows. King Olaf sails in 'The Serpent' along the coast northwards. He suffers much in dreams on account of the heathens in that quarter. He summons them all to a Thing; and bids them accept Christianity. Some do so, others fly to desert places afar off, or hide in caves. The king wishes to see the ugly Troll who rules over the rest. Thorstein Strong-as-an-Ox says, his name is Arint Bunkebjörn; he takes ships,

[1] *Heimskr.* c. 6, p. 221.

[2] Hammershaimb, *Færoiske Kræder*, 15.

crew and all, into his cave. His eye-brows are like crags, his ears like goat's horns, he has a long beard as black as soot, while his nails are grown an ell longer than the fingers. Olaf steers for Hornaland, to bind the Trolls there, when a sharp squall descends upon him from the Fjeld. At sun-set they see a giant coming down to the ship with a rope fastened to a great iron hook in his hand. At every step he sinks knee deep in the earth, and then wades out in the sea. He now asks Olaf how he dared to sail north of the lofty Horn, for no one ever got back who ventured thither. Olaf's answer is, he had better get hold of the ship, and see how he fares. Arint thinks it will be an easy matter to hoist the ship up; he has hoisted bigger ones before now. He throws the hook over it, and hauls at the rope so hard that he sinks knee deep into the rock. Planks are loosened from the knee-timbers: Olaf's men are pitched into the stern, but are unharmed. They all turn pale, except Thormod the Scald, who plays with his rune-stave. The king now goes from the poop, and asks the mountain ogre who he is. Arint answers that he has long reigned over Hornaland, having been chosen by a Thing, as many hundred-and-fifty years ago as there are nails on his fingers. Olaf asks how many Troll-fishers he has at home in his hall. Arint replies, 'You ask me many more questions than I ask you.' Still, he tells him. 'Twelve boats sail from Hornaland. If each of these comes home from sea with sixteen seals, and each of these seals is cut up into nine parts, and each of these nine parts is again subdivided into nine pieces; then take three for each piece; and that is the tale of Trolls in Hornaland.' Olaf expresses the wish that their great catches may do them no good, the whole pack of them. And he bids Arint to try again to lift the vessel. Arint tries to hoist up the ship again, and yet again, but fails; while he himself sinks into the rock to his middle. Whereupon Olaf cries, 'Stand thou a stone for ever, so that everybody may land here unharmed.' The small Trolls meanwhile are at home, longing for Arint to bring them food. Early in the morning, the Troll-wife comes out to see after him. She stretches out her long neck, glares with her eyes, with her mouth wide open. Olaf turns her too to stone just as she stands. The small Trolls come out and see her standing stiff, and blurt out, 'What ails mother that she can't shut her chops?' The Trolls inside the mountain now arm with iron poles for the fight; but just

when they are about to issue from the hole, the opening sinks in, and is stopped up at the prayer of Olaf. Then cried a strong old giant, 'Lead me to the place where the opening was, and let me have a try. I have broken bigger crags than this with my head!' So twelve shoved him on one side, and twelve on the other, and hurled him so hard against the rock that his neck broke, but the cave's mouth remained shut, so that not one escaped. They ate each other up, and the strongest lasted longest.

By an easy transition the name of the Saint would pass from the ballad to the proverb in the mouth of the vulgar. To quote one or two instances. 'Many tell of S. Olaf who never saw him;' a piece of homely wisdom, which in our own tongue has been connected with another personage; 'Many speake of Robin Hood that never shot in his bowe.' Again, 'That will be, when S. Olaf comes back to the North' ='at the Greek Kalends;' and 'From the days when S. Olaf was little' ='from the days of eld.'

XV. Of course, the miracles of the Saint would be represented in painting and sculpture. Most of these works of art no longer exist. But to judge from the descriptions given of them, Olaf generally appeared crowned, battle-axe in hand, and treading underfoot a Troll or Dragon. So in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen [1], there is the antependium of an altar, from Trondhjem, picturing Olaf's exploits, and also a silver spoon, with Olaf sitting, with both feet on the crowned and tailed Prince of Darkness [2]. Among the articles enumerated in an inventory of the treasury of the Cathedral of Aberdeen in 1518 there is a similar image of S. Olaf of silver decorated with precious stones [3]. In Norway there are several altar-pieces in carved wood, most of which were executed abroad on order from home. S. Olaf and S. Sunniva are the Saints who occur most commonly in these works of art [4]. Thus the altar-piece at Ringsaker Church [5] was ordered from Antwerp by the vicar, Arnstein Johnsson Skanke (1502–1544). Of course this would indirectly contribute to the cult of the Saint in foreign parts. And so

[1] See Appendix IV.

[2] Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager i Kjöbenhavn's Museum*, p. 175; Undset, *Nordiske Oldsager*, p. 73, Christiania, 1878.

[3] *Regist. Episc. Aberdonense*, ii, p. 172.

[4] *Den Norske Træskjærekunst*, af L. Dietrichson, p. 63, Christiania, 1878.

[5] At this place occurred one of the miracles recorded in *C. C. C.* MS.: see p. 109.

in the church of Our Lady at Lübeck is a painting, the chief figure in which is the Saint, in full armour, battle-axe in hand, and a royal mantle flung over his shoulders; with one foot he treads on a dragon, which has the head of a man[1]. At S. Olaf's Church, Reval, he holds a dagger[2]. In Icelandic MSS. the Saint appears as a frontispiece, sitting in his high seat, an axe in the right hand and a ball in the left, and a dragon under his feet[3].

Sometimes the axe is in the left, while in his right are three round 'Olafstones,' one upon another, in memory of the loaves turned into stones (see miracle p. 78 below). In Iceland these stones were generally to be found in every church dedicated to S. Olaf. They were hammered out of lava, and were originally three in number[4]. The memory of S. Olaf, in fact, was constantly appearing in the life of the Northmen. Olafsen and Povelsen, who wrote an account in Danish of their travels in Iceland (1752–1757), in reference to the district of Borgar-fjord, say, 'they have a particular game at draughts called "S. Olaf's tavl," which is played blindfolded, while they recite an old ballad, which must be learned by heart. The spectators during the game maintain perfect silence' (Vol. I, p. 100, § 291, German translation).

An amusing illustration of the universal power of the Saint, and proof of his hold on the popular imagination, is afforded in the correspondence of Olaus Wormius[5], p. 257. Stephanus Stephanius sends to Ole Worm, in September 1644, a box of curiosities from Norway, including the *Arcus lapideus Divi Olavi.* Worm, within the week, acknowledges the safe arrival of the objects, destined for his museum. Ardent must have been the expectations of the Danish antiquary, as he opened the box wherein was stowed 'the stone bow of S. Olaf;' great, or perhaps small, must have been his disappointment. He gives vent to it as follows: 'Arcus

[1] Faye, *Norske Folkesagn*, p. 108.
[2] Radowitz, *Ikonographie der Heiligen.*
[3] *Diplom. Islandicum*, 672.
[4] *Ib.* p. 710 note. On a side-screen of Barton Turf Church, Norfolk, Olaf is in royal robes, crowned, with the legend 'S. Holofius.' In his left hand is his axe, in his right, what is popularly supposed to be two plum cakes. These are the loaves of the miracle. But see p. 79, note 3. On the seal of S. Olaf's Priory, Herringfleet, the king is seated, and holds cross and battleaxe. Dugdale, *Monast.* VI. 600.
[5] Copenhagen, 1751.

D. Olai, ut volunt, nihil minus quam arcus fuit: sed lapis est, ac fuit semper in hanc formam a natura elaboratus.' The Norwegian rustics had found a stone shaped exactly like a bow. This must be the great Saint's handiwork, thought they, and it was accordingly sent to Denmark as a curiosity of the first magnitude. Sooth to say, S. Olaf's arrow also existed in Norway, but it was too large to pack up and send to Copenhagen. The traveller in Store-Standdal, Söndmör, will see a long crooked column of stone, lying in a right line with a hole in a neighbouring mountain. This stone is 'S. Olaf's arrow,' which the Saint shot with such force that it went right through the mountain, and so made the hole.

XVI. We now come to the extant literary monuments concerning the martyrdom and miracles of S. Olaf. As a whole, these are preserved imperfectly in Latin. They are as follows, and are exhibited in the following list by Professor Storm, in his recent learned and ingenious work on the ancient historic monuments of his country[1]:—

1. The Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. vii, p. 87, for the month of July.
2. *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, Paris, 1519; printed in Langebek's *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, ii. 539–52, and better in *Mon. hist. Norv.* p. 229–245.
3. *Breviarium Scarense*, Nuremberg, 1493 (Storm, 251–254).
4. *Breviarium Lincopense*, Nuremberg, 1498; and *Brev. Arhusiense*, Aarhus, 1519 (Storm, 247–251).
5. The following Swedish and Danish breviaries are mutually related to each other:—*Brev. Stregnense*, Stockholm, 1495; *Brev. Upsalense*, Stockholm, 1496; *Brev. Arosiense*, Basel, 1513; *Brev. Otthoniense*, Lübeck, 1483 and 1496; *Brev. Roschildense*, Paris, 1517; *Brev. Lundense*, Paris, 1517; *Brev. Slesvicense*, Paris, 1512.

The first two of these are identical with the *Brev. Arosiense* (Storm, 255–265).

These Breviaries, although nearly related, are derived from different older manuscript sources.

6. Fragments of Icelandic *Legendaria* printed in Langebek, *Scr. rer. Dan.* ii. 530, and better in Storm, p. 271–274.
7. Fragments of a Norse *Legendarium*, Storm, p. 275.
8. *Historie plurimorum Sanctorum noviter laboriose collecte, impresse Louanii in domo Johannis de Westfalia*, A.D. mccccclxxxv, *in Octobri*, fol. 101–104, Storm, 277–282.

[1] *Monumenta Historica Norwegiæ: Latinske Kildeskrifter til Norges Historie i Middelalderen, udgivne efter Offentlig Foranstaltning ved Dr. Gustav Storm, Professor i Historie ved Kristiania Universitet.* Christiania, 1880.

Also the following translations of the legend must be mentioned :—

9. *Gammelnorsk Homiliebog* (*Codex Arn. Magn.* 619 Q.V.), ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1862, 1864, from a MS. written in Norway, scarcely later than 1200, with the heading : *In die Sancti Olaui regis et martiris*, p. 146–168.
10. *Fornsvensk Legendarium*, p. 859–871 (*Saga om S. Olaf Norges Konung*) : from a Swedish MS., Codex Bildstenianus, of about 1420–50. It contains the whole of the first chapter of our text, together with Chapter II, Sect. 1–10.

We have now simply to determine the place of our new text among these materials for S. Olaf's history.

In order to restore the legend to its original shape and sequence, as it was written in Latin, the work marked 9, the Old-Norse Homily Book, is our best guide. For, as would appear from the concluding words, it was appointed to be read entire in the churches on S. Olaf's day, and exhibits the legend to us as it was, before it became split up and arranged for the various Breviaries. On a comparison with this Old-Norse Homily Book, the best Latin text hitherto known was that in the Codex Bodecensis[1] (printed by the Bollandists, *ibid.*), and in the two West Gotland Breviaries numbered above 3 and 4, which are more detailed and complete than the other Breviaries. The old Homily Book above mentioned is especially interesting; it must have reached Iceland by 1220, since it was entirely incorporated into Styrmer's S. Olaf's Saga, now lost; and finally it found its way back to Norway, with additions by Munk Hall, about 1250, where it was worked into the legendary S. Olaf's Saga[2].

The first written notice about S. Olaf which is on record, viz. 'Translatio S. Olavi,' describing how he first gave intimation of his sanctity, and how his body was raised by Bishop Grimkel[3] from the earth a year and five days after his death, i. e. Aug. 3, 1031, and buried in a

[1] *Acta Brevia S. Olavi Regis et martyris Auctore Anonymo, ex Passionali pergameno MS. cœnobii Bodecensis.* A MS. which belonged to the Monastery of Bodecheim in the Diocese of Paderborn.

[2] Ed. Unger and Keyser, Christiania, 1849.

[3] Nephew of Bishop Sigurd, who came from England with Olaf Tryggvason. Many of these ecclesiastics were of Norse descent, and, as such, well fitted for mission work in Scandinavia.

church at Nidaros, occurs in the work of Thjodrik the monk[1]. But there is internal evidence in Thjodrik to prove that he was also acquainted with, and made use of, the original Latin legend, and that therefore this existed either in a briefer form or in the enlarged shape which it subsequently assumed before he wrote his history (A.D. 1177–80). Now who was the author of that original Latin legend? It has been assumed by Maurer that the author was a foreigner, on account of the way in which he speaks of Norway and Norwegians, e.g. in the preamble. But the reason for this seems to be that the legend was intended not merely for Norway, but to be read also abroad; and it did in fact obtain a wide circulation in foreign countries. Professor Storm, who, in the work mentioned above (p. 46), has recently re-edited the whole of the Latin legend, taking as his text the *Acta Brevia* of the Codex Bodecensis, and piecing it together, and arranging it from the various authorities[2], and to whom the present writer is indebted for much of the information conveyed to the reader in the last page or two, and generally throughout the work, came to an opposite conclusion. He has stated his conviction from internal evidence that the original legend was composed in Nidaros[3] (Trondhjem) by some cleric connected with the cathedral (p. xxxv). He was led to this conviction by the fact that, of nineteen miracles recorded as having occurred after the Saint's death, four take place in the cathedral; two happen to persons who in gratitude for their deliverance turn priests and minister there; one close by Trondhjem; while two others occur at Stikklestad.

In this posture of affairs, the present editor was led to examine the Corpus Christi manuscript. On comparing it with the fullest extant account of the miracles, viz. the Old-Norse Homily Book mentioned above, he made some interesting discoveries. In the first place, Professor Storm's conjecture that the author was an official of the cathedral of Nidaros has been triumphantly realized, and that in an unexpected manner. Here we have a complete history of the miracles of the Saint, in handwriting of the close of the twelfth

[1] *Theodorici Monachi Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium*, cap. xx; printed in Storm's work, p. 3–68.

[2] See *Monumenta Historica Norwegiæ*, p. xxx and p. 229: 'Acta Sancti Olavi Regis et martyris.'

[3] See note, p. 6.

century, and one which, up to the present time, was scarcely known to exist, or, which amounts to the same thing, had never been carefully examined. The Old-Norse Homily Book, which is very interesting as being probably the oldest extant book written in Norway, contains five more chapters of the Olaf legend than the best previously known Latin one, and was, until now, supposed to be a complete work. But we now find that the Corpus Christi manuscript is fuller still. It contains not only the Latin of those extra five chapters, but also others. Besides, in this manuscript is a continuation—due, not to tradition, but to the recent accounts of eyewitnesses, and also to the author's own personal experiences, containing moreover details which throw an interesting light on contemporary manners and customs. Add to which, the name of the author is here first revealed. It was Eystein, or Augustinus, second archbishop of Trondhjem[1], consecrated 1161 and died 1188, the builder of Christ Church, the present cathedral of Trondhjem[2].

XVII. But so notable a personage, especially as he turns out to be the author of our legend, must be placed more closely before our readers. Chaplain and treasurer to King Inge, on the death, in 1161, of Jón[3], the first archbishop, he was appointed to succeed him by that monarch

[1] The Provincia Nidrosiensis included the five Norwegian Bishoprics, together with two in Iceland, and those of the Orkneys, the Faroes, Greenland, and the Sudreys. On the Norwegian Church thus obtaining its own Metropolitan, it ceased to be subject, as heretofore, to the archiepiscopal see of Lund. The change was effected, 1152, by Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, Bishop of Albano, the legate of Pope Eugenius III, who presented the pallium to the first Archbishop, Jón Birgerson. *Heimskr. Saga Inga ok bræðra hans*, c. 23.

[2] So Snorri, *Olaf den Helliges Saga*, c. 245. His words are: 'A chapel was erected and the altar set up first on the same spot where King Olaf had been buried, and upon this site now stands Christ Church. Archbishop Eystein placed the high-altar on the same spot where the corpse had lain, when he raised the great Minster, which is now standing. The high-altar of the old Christ Church had also stood there.' But *ib.* c. 271, Snorri says, 'Olaf (Kyrre) caused to be erected the stone church in the city, in that spot where the remains of King Olaf were first interred, and he completed the Minster, and it was dedicated under the name of Christ Church (A.D. 1077). Here was the Bishop's throne and Olaf's shrine.' Snorri here alludes to the older church of the eleventh century, in the place of which Eystein built the modern Christ Church.

[3] Torfæus, *Historia Norwegica*, Part III, chap. v.

without consulting the Chapter; and, although thus arbitrarily chosen, the Norwegian Church found in him a man both able and willing to maintain its rights. He was descended on the father's side from one of the leading families in the kingdom, being grandson to Harald Hardrada's marshal, Ulf, a lineage which doubtless lent additional weight to his authority. No sooner was he installed in his office, than he began to impress on the bonders how important it was to increase the income, and so uphold the worldly dignity, of the See. The same lesson he took care to instil into Earl Erling, before crowning his boy son Magnus at Bergen, though he formulated it in a somewhat different shape, viz. that 'God's rights must be in every way upheld.' And, indeed, father and son could not resist this able and eloquent ecclesiastic, for they were well aware that the main safeguard for Magnus' sovereignty would be his elevation to the throne with the sanctions of religion. An animated conversation is recorded by Snorri as having taken place between Erling and the archbishop before the coronation, 1164, wherein each roundly accused the other of transgressing the laws of S. Olaf. But it ended in Erling surrendering at discretion, as the presence of the hierarchy at the coronation could not possibly be dispensed with. Now, for the first time, the King of Norway was anointed, and thus an unwonted halo gathered round his brow, which added not a little lustre to his royalty in the eyes of the people. In the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, p. 226, is a remarkable document entitled 'Privilegium et iuramentum Regis Magni qui primus coronatus Nidrosiae,' dated ix. Kal. April 1176, from the vestry of the church of Nidaros; which, therefore, if genuine, would possess additional interest here as being the composition of Archbishop Eystein. In this paper the king solemnly places himself and his kingdom henceforth and for ever under the power and protection of God and S. Olaf; while to Eystein and the church of Trondhjem he promises great rights and privileges. But unfortunately for the dramatic interest of the proceeding, the above document has been clearly shown by Maurer and Storm to be not genuine.

Throughout the succeeding civil war we find our Archbishop staunchly supporting king Magnus against the pretender Swerrir. He encouraged the former and his adherents by every means in his power. Thus he promised them, if they fell on the field of battle, instant

admission into Paradise, even before their blood grew cold [1], to which Swerrir makes a telling allusion in his ironical speech over the grave of Jarl Erling; while against 'the apostate' Swerrir, 'the renegade priest,' 'the impostor,' 'the wizard in league with the Devil,' Archbishop Eystein, seconding the Pope, fulminated anathemas without end. On Swerrir routing king Magnus and the Royalists at the battle of Ilevold, and thus planting a foot on the steps of the throne, Eystein, rather than sanction his usurpation by being present at the coronation, fled to England, whence he lost no time in issuing an excommunication against Swerrir. Indeed for a Norse ecclesiastic to be present at, or absent from, the ceremony was equally fraught with danger. If he refused, he was liable, as was reported of one of the recalcitrant bishops on this occasion, to be chained up to his lips in the sea till he consented [2]; while on the other hand, Pope Alexander III excommunicated all the bishops who were present at the coronation. According to *Sverris Saga* (68 [78]), the Archbishop spent three years in England, returning to Norway 1182 (*Ann. Isl.*). It is from his inspiration doubtless that the English chroniclers drew their pictures of Swerrir. Although his cause was at a later period espoused by our king John, who in 1201 sent him troops, Ribballdar, to aid him against the Baglar (*Sverris Saga*, 174 [194]), Hoveden describes Swerrir as a usurper and murderer; while William of Newburgh (i. 272–276, ed. T. Hearne, Oxon, 1719) calls him 'Diaboli vas proprium,' 'Virga furoris domini' and 'nefandus presbyter.' He further says, 'Ab Archiepiscopo terrae illius solemniter coronari

[1] 'Archbishop Turpin, above the rest,
Spurred his steed to a jutting crest,
His sermon thus to the Franks he spake :—

. . . . . .

I will assoil you, your souls to heal,
In death ye are all holy martyrs crowned.'

And again—

'Soldiers and lieges of God are ye,
And in Paradise shall your guerdon be,
To lie on its holy flowerets fair.'

The Song of Roland, translated by J. O'Hagan, M.A.

[2] *Hoveden*, iii. 271.

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voluit. Verum ille, cum esset vir magnus, et neque precibus, neque minarum terroribus flecteretur, ut caput execrabile sacra unctione perfunderet, ab eodem patria pulsus est,' i. 275.

XVIII. While in England, Eystein spent some time at the Benedictine monastery of Bury S. Edmunds, living in the Abbot's house then untenanted. True to his ecclesiastical instincts and energetic nature, he was by no means idle while within the walls of the monastery, and according to Jocelin, cited in the note, he was mainly instrumental in securing for the brethren a free election of their new Abbot[1]—a particular department of ecclesiastical politics of which, to judge from the contentions between the Norse hierarchy and the monarch, he had made a thorough study in his own country. The funds of the monastery at the time of Eystein's visit were at the lowest possible ebb. The conventual buildings were ruinous and never repaired. The sacred vessels were pledged to the Jews. The brethren could not walk the streets of Bury S. Edmunds without being beset by their creditors, clamorous for payment of what was due to them. Such had been the state into which the effete Abbot

[1] Cf. *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, p. 12 (Camden Society, London, 1840). *De rebus gestis Samsonis Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi* nunc primum typis mandata curante Johanne G. Rokewode. 'Vacante Abbatia perhendinavit Augustinus archiepiscopus Norweiæ apud nos in domibus abbatis, habens per preceptum regis singulis diebus x solidos de denariis abbatie; qui multum valuit nobis ad habendam liberam electionem nostram, testimonium perhibens de bono, et publice protestans coram rege quod viderat et audierat.' Cf. *Rot. Pip.* xxvii Hen. II; *Norfolk and Suffolk.* '*Abbatia de Sancto Aedmundo*: Et in corredio Archiepiscopi Norwegiæ £xxxv, a vigilia S. Laurencii (i.e. Aug. 9) usque ad diem S. Luce Evangeliste (i.e. Oct. 18), scilicet de lxx diebus, per breve Regis.' And again, *Rot. Pip.* xxviii Hen. II; *Norfolk and Suffolk:* 'Et in liberatione Archiepiscopi de Norweia £lix x s. de xvii septimanis per breve Regis.' Therefore the Archbishop remained at the Abbey of S. Edmund from Aug. 9, 1181 until about the time of the election of the new Abbot Samson (in place of the deceased Abbot Hugo), on Feb. 28, 1182, and received in all for his corrodies £94 10*s.*; cf. Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, p. 251, where only the second entry from the Pipe Rolls (xxviii Hen. II) is cited. Cf. Bened. Abb., (ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series), vol. i. p. 268: 'Eodem anno, scilicet M°C°LXXX°, Augustinus Nidrosiensis archiepiscopus, nolens aliquam subjectionem facere Suero presbytero, sedem archiepiscopatus sui reliquit, et venit in Angliam, et tulit sententiam excommunicationis in Suerum presbyterum.' So also *Hoveden*, ii. p. 215.

Hugo, now dead, had allowed their finances to lapse. And yet the monastery, we see, managed to keep up its reputation for hospitality to strangers without stint. Jocelin hints that the future Abbot Samson, the sacristan, had secretly put by some of the offerings of pilgrims for these emergencies. This gossiping Boswell of that day, my lord abbot's chaplain and friend, who gives an inimitable narrative of the doings preceding the election, and the caballing and murmuring attendant thereon, makes us aware that matters were in a very delicate and ticklish position indeed. The king kept the headship vacant for a year and three months, and had through his appointed custodians taken inventories of all the monastic property, and set seals on their muniment boxes. It was quite within the bounds of possibility that he might force upon them as abbot some foreign ecclesiastic, or other person obnoxious to the Society. So that Eystein's good offices with his majesty would be duly appreciated, and are duly recorded, as we have seen, in this twelfth-century note book.

But we ought, before we leave the monastery, to cast a glimpse back at its antecedents. The martyr S. Edmund, a prince of East Anglia, who had fallen by Danish arrows just one hundred and sixty years before king Olaf fell at Stikklestad, not indeed by Danish arrows, but at all events by Danish intrigue, was at the time the great saint of England, competing with S. Cuthbert, and perhaps surpassing him in miraculous power. The cult of S. Thomas of Canterbury, who had been murdered only eleven years previously, was perhaps scarcely so fully developed. The conventual buildings at S. Edmund's monastery had been restored by Canute. He had presented the Saint with his own gold crown off his head. And it was at one time fast becoming one of the most splendid establishments in the kingdom, in its magnificent buildings and rich endowments. S. Edmund's shrine was the constant resort of kings and the great of the earth. Here, some half-dozen years before, the reigning monarch, Henry II, had caused the sacred standard of St. Edmund to be borne in front of his assembled army (see engraving of it, p. 104, *Joc. de Brak.*), and to its influence was ascribed the victory which he gained over his rebellious sons. The Archbishop would doubtless compare many notes with the English fraternity, whose doings are told in so quaint and life-like a manner by Brakelond. As he surveyed the

richly jewelled shrine of S. Edmund, his heart would doubtless be over the North Sea, and fixed lovingly on the not less splendid shrine of his national saint, S. Olaf, in Trondhjem. All the recorded miracles of S. Edmund would doubtless be discussed among them, and many striking points of resemblance between the wonder-working of the two martyrs would be dwelt upon. Very likely the Archbishop left a copy of his own composition, the *Passio et miracula Sancti Olaui*, at the monastery where he had been so hospitably entertained; or sent a copy of it on returning to his Northern See. Several churches in Norway, e.g. those of Vanelv and Lüro, which are dedicated to S. Edmund, are not improbably memorials of his visit[1]. It is to be regretted that we know nothing of this intercourse except from the short notice of Brakelond. Neither do we know at what other English monasteries, whether at Fountains, or St. Mary's, York, or elsewhere, Eystein abode during the remainder of his exile. One thing is clear, that the fact of his excommunicating his own monarch, Swerrir, did not weigh prejudicially to his interests with the king of England, as it was by royal mandate that he was entertained, cost free, by the monks of S. Edmund's. In those days there would be no extradition treaty between England and Norway. Moreover Henry II must have had a keen recollection of what came of his removing from his path another equally overweening and rebellious ecclesiastic, Thomas Becket, the degrading prostration before his shrine at Canterbury, and the scourging by the monks to which he was fain to submit some few years before, in order to make his peace with the Church. Becket's name was ringing loudly throughout England during Eystein's stay. There were many traits of similarity between the late Archbishop of Canterbury and his living brother of Nidaros, both in their character and career. Both of them were men of undaunted mettle, clear mental vision, and high stomach. Both quarrelled with their sovereign, and both lived in exile. Becket fell slain in his own cathedral, but Eystein avoided the possibility of a like fate by beating a timely retreat from Norway, and thus escaping the clutches of king Swerrir, who, as he knew well, was not a man to be trifled with. The Norwegian Archbishop would without doubt ponder

[1] *Den Norske Træskjvererkunst*, L. Dietrichson, p. 64. At Bergen was the Hall of S. Edmund's guild.

duly on these matters. Records of Becket's life and miracles would be in the monasteries where Eystein was entertained; what if he had a hand in making them known to his own countrymen? Surely this is a very natural and reasonable supposition, although we are without proof of its correctness. There are, as most of our readers are aware, a Norwegian and also an Icelandic free version of the life of Thomas Becket[1] from the Latin biography composed in England. The oldest of these recensions, the Icelandic one, dated from the first half of the thirteenth century, that is to say, a very short time after Eystein's residence in England. It seems to the present writer more than probable that, although he was not the author of these extant books, yet he had a great deal to do with them indirectly. Would he not hasten to make known to his countrymen the earlier accounts of Becket on which the well-known *Quadrilogus* was founded?

XIX. But with all his persistent fighting for the pomp and power of the Church the Archbishop was a man of liberal views in other matters. Greatly to his credit be it observed that, while ever working for the temporal well-being of his see, the lofty churchman did not forget the material interests of the humbler classes of his countrymen. Thus he obtained from Pope Alexander III a removal of some of the ecclesiastical restrictions on herring fishing. From cap. 26 in the old Frostathing's Church law[2], or Canons and decrees of the Church authorities, of which the Archbishop was the author, we ascertain the fact, interesting alike from an economical and a spiritual point of view, that for the future, whenever the herring was off the land, the fishing might be prosecuted every day, Sundays included, with the exception of certain days, twenty-seven in number, therein specified, one of which was S. Olaf's day[3].

A brief Norse history in Latin, mentioned above, p. 47, embracing the period from Harald Harfager to the death of Sigurd the Crusader,

[1] *Thomas Saga Erkibyskups*, ed. C. Unger, Christiania, 1869; and also in Rolls Series (vol. i), ed. E. Magnusson.

[2] 'The law-book, called Gullfjöðr (Gold-quill), of which Archbishop Eystein was the author;' *Sverris Saga*, 109 (117), and Keyser's *Den Norske Kirkes Historie* (Christiania, 1856), i, p. 262.

[3] *Norges Gamle Love*, i, p. 138 (ed. Keyser and Munch), Christiania, 1846.

written by his contemporary Thjodrik the monk—a man, to judge from his work, wonderfully well conversant with mediaeval and classic Latin literature—was dedicated by the author to Eystein [1]. This would seem of itself to indicate that the Archbishop was a man of culture and interested in the history of his country. On his return from exile, from dictates doubtless of worldly wisdom, he made his peace with King Swerrir, and resumed his see. As far as outward appearances went, he continued to maintain this attitude, resolving to wait and watch the course of events, while the king, for his part, judged it the best policy not to drive the sufficiently humbled churchman to desperation. At length, on the fall of Magnus in 1184, the Archbishop felt that his connexion with politics was at an end. He had played his game out, and in Swerrir he had found more than his match. Swerrir was himself brought up as a cleric, and had known how to estimate at their true value the resources of the spiritual power. Towards the close of his life prudence, not passion, regulated the action of the Archbishop; and it was from considerations of that kind, and not from any weakness or vacillation of character, that he allowed his animosity against the king to entirely subside.

In 1185 we find him giving the consent of the Church to the marriage of Swerrir's sister, Cecilia, with the powerful Northern noble, Baard Guttormson of Rein, although her first husband was still alive; she having previously proved to the satisfaction of the Archbishop that she had been forced into her previous marriage by Jarl Erling Skakke (*Sverris S.* 92. [100]). In the autumn of 1187 the Archbishop fell sick at Nidaros, and kept his bed till after Christmas. Being sensible that his end was approaching, he sent word to King Swerrir to come and visit him, which he did. They had a long conversation touching many transactions in which they had been engaged together. When they parted, the Archbishop begged the king's pardon for any trespasses he might have committed against him, and said that he had been guilty of things which he felt were not according to God's law. The two thereupon became entirely reconciled, and forgave each other everything they had done amiss (*Sverris S.* 98 [107]).

Such at all events was the account given by the king of this last

[1] *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, 311–341; and better, *Mon. hist. Norv.* p. 1–68.

interview. Eystein died on January 26, 1188, after having been for twenty-seven years Metropolitan of Norway, and was buried in the sacristy of Christ Church. As bishop and statesman, he must be regarded as one of the most gifted and remarkable personages recorded in Norwegian Annals. Nay, he could for that matter have held his own with some of the most notable clergy mentioned by historians. In recognition of his great services he was, in 1229[1], proclaimed Saint by law; and there is a letter of Pope Gregory IX, April 20, 1241, ordering due inquiry to be made as to his alleged miracles with a view to decreeing to him the honours of canonization[2]. We have seen the Archbishop as he appeared to Papal eyes.

The reader will perhaps like to hear the verdict passed upon Eystein by Torfaeus (*Historia Norwegica*, Part III. c. v.). He there cites the second chapter of the old Gulathing's law, which was the law for the West of Norway, as the Frostathing's law was for the province of Trondhjem, and which ordains 'de electione regis haerede deficiente,' as follows: All the bishops and abbots, etc. are spontaneously to repair to Nidaros in the same month that they hear of the king's death. The crown of the defunct monarch is then to be offered up for the good of his soul; and is to hang in the Cathedral for ever to the glory of God and S. Olaf, as Magnus appointed, who was the first crowned king of Norway; any person who transgresses this law to be under the ban of God, the Pope, and the hierarchy. Torfaeus' comments hereupon are forcible: 'Hic primus Archiepiscopatus in Norwegia instituti fructus. Regni enim usum, veterator hic sub sacris induviis, vulpes simul ac rapax lupus, jure haereditatis antiquato justisque haeredibus erepto, vendidit, sibique et suis successoribus illud pariter ac reges in perpetuum subdere conatus, materiam litium caediumque uberrimam reliquit.' But then Torfaeus was reputed to be descended from the blood royal of Norway, and was moreover historiographer to his majesty of Denmark.

Hitherto then this man was known to history as the high-handed defender of the hierarchy, as the corrector of morals alike in Norway and Iceland[3], as a maker of laws and builder of churches, as an energetic partisan, as a statesman, and lastly as one who so manipulated matters as to compel the king to accept the crown from God and S.

[1] *Ann. Isl.* 104. [2] *Diplom. Islandicum*, 531. [3] *Ib.* 218, 262.

Olaf, that is from the Church. That alone perhaps would lead William of Newburgh to style him, as he does, 'vir magnus.' But he here appears in a new character; as the literary champion of S. Olaf, the patron Saint of Norway, and as the author of the only work written in Norway in the middle ages which achieved a European reputation, and was translated into several languages. The true literary history of the work would seem to be this. He first wrote down the older traditions about S. Olaf. He then, at the risk of seeming tedious and prolix, and of his unpolished style becoming oppressive to the reader, proceeds to relate some further miracles which he knew to have been recently ('nuper') performed, and he does so, trusting to their religious devotion (p. 97). He next (p. 104), in a supplementary original tractate, relates further miracles of S. Olaf, to which he could personally bear witness, from which he himself or others derived benefit, and which redound to the glory of his Cathedral Church. The work therefore consists of three distinct parts, and these parts the Archbishop combines and compiles into a symmetrical whole, and edits for the instruction and edification of all whom it may concern. The style is the style of his age and of his vocation, not altogether terse and concise, but, on the contrary, somewhat prolix and heavy, though in the part referring to his own knowledge he exhibits more animation. His speeches recorded in *Sverris Saga*, and conveyed in the vernacular, are quite a different affair.

The miraculous powers of the martyr, as recorded by the Archbishop, the more ancient ones from tradition, the recent ones from the mouths of credible witnesses, and, lastly, those of which he had proof positive in his own person or in his own experience, are very multifarious. There are the usual cases of diseases and ailments miraculously cured. Epilepsy, leprosy (even now very prevalent in the neighbourhood of Bergen), contracted limbs, deafness, blindness, accidental injuries, all these meet with a prompt physician in the Saint.

Undoubtedly, the most interesting miracle, one of which Archbishop Eystein, the author and editor of this work, was personally cognizant, is that mentioned at p. 105. It came so thoroughly home to him in his own proper person and wonderful deliverance, that it is possible we owe to it the realization and completion of the plan over which he had been pondering, of writing the treatise with a full exposition in order of the

wonder-working of S. Olaf from the first days until now. At all events, but for this miracle, the author's life would have been cut short, and his book with it. Here we actually see that glorious fabric, the Cathedral of Trondhjem, rising aloft in unique beauty, seven hundred and more years ago; about the architecture of which and its several parts so many conflicting hypotheses have been broached. The Archbishop, we shall see, was one of those great ecclesiastical architects of the middle ages to whom posterity is so greatly indebted, and whom it has in vain attempted to rival. He is summoned by the master of the works ('magister qui operariis ecclesie preest') to give instructions as to some architectural difficulty which has arisen. With a light heart he mounts the scaffolding, along which stones for the building were being drawn, accompanied by a mixed crowd of workmen and monks, the latter, whose duty it was to be in attendance on the Primate, doubtless anxious to view the progress of the great work. The scaffolding is not strong enough to bear the weight, and breaks down. The rest of the people succeed in clinging to the scaffolding; the Archbishop alone falls into the abyss below as a punishment, perhaps, for his sins, notably his want of caution in risking a life on which so much depended. He is providentially saved from destruction, though he fell on the thin edge of a mortar pail. He is carried insensible in the arms of the monks to his cubicle. With returning consciousness a twofold pain distresses him—his broken ribs, and the thought that on the third day was the 'birthday' of the martyr, when a concourse of people came from far and near, and a grand procession would take place in which it was his duty to bear a principal part. In this strait the Archbishop prays to his patron S. Olaf, not trusting to his own merits, but full of faith in the efficacy of prayer to the saint. His prayer is heard. At dawn on the day of the festival, when the bells toll to summon the people, the Archbishop is supported by the monks into the church, although so weak was he that he never could have supposed he would be able to attend the service at all. The bodily pain abates, and with it his confidence increases; forthwith he calls for his robes that he may take his place in the procession with the monks. When the *cortége* arrived at the place where it was usual to call a halt and preach a sermon (doubtless a homily on S. Olaf's miracles), he proceeded briefly to inform the crowd of the Pope's indulgence for

the remission of sin. Gaining strength with the effort, he insensibly protracted his words into the usual sermon. Then he went through the office of the mass, and through the whole solemnity. Instead of being fatigued by it, he felt refreshed by the exertion, and although the pain had not entirely disappeared, his bones were fully consolidated, and by degrees he was perfectly cured. Now when was this miracle performed? The Archbishop was in exile in England for three years, he did not return till 1182, and died at the close of 1187. Did his miraculous preservation take place before or after his absence? A true answer to this question would be our best guide as to the probable date of Eystein's literary production. Unfortunately the author has not sufficient data for arriving at a conclusion. One would have naturally imagined that it happened before his exile, when he was a younger man and more able to mount to giddy heights than when age had rendered him less adventurous. But with a person of the Archbishop's spirit and resolution, this would perhaps make no difference.

XX. Eystein's church (or rather basilica), a great part of which still exists, is thus described[1]. It was dedicated to Christ. In shape it was cruciform. The walls inside and out were beautifully sculptured. Along the gilded Western front were colossal stone statues of the twelve Apostles, also gilt. Both inside and out there were rows of columns of black and white and other coloured marbles, all polished. Sixty of these adorned the southern portico, which will give some idea of the cost of the whole building. The best marbles were from Ireland and Greenland, while the soapstone came from the province of Trondhjem. Quite in keeping with the splendour of the edifice was the mass of valuable objects preserved in the sacristy, such as books, chalices, patens, vestments, and other ecclesiastical utensils. On stated occasions, as for instance on the festival of the Saint, a vast concourse of people thronged to Trondhjem. Religious motives must doubtless have been at work with many of the devotees thus assembled; but that some of the spectators, monks among them, repaired hither for anything but religion's sake is clear from an incidental remark in the narrative of a miracle (p. 85) which caused an immense sensation in the religious world.

[1] *Samlede Skrifter af Peder Claussön Friis*, ed. Dr. Gustav Storm (Christiania, 1881), pp. 348 sqq.

On these occasions the shrine of S. Olaf was opened, and for some years the Saint's nails and hair were solemnly cut and clipt. A procession was then formed, which was headed by the Archbishop, wearing a mantle of gold, and bearing on his shoulders an image of the Holy Trinity of pure gold. After him marched three monks with the silver cross of S. Olaf. The shrine ('loculus') of S. Olaf, which was of wood, and double, having an inner case, came next, borne along by sixty men. From the end of the coffer, which was covered with gold and silver, hung an infinite number of little bags, to receive the offerings of the faithful. On the shrine stood the so-called 'Penitentiarius' with Papal indulgences for sale—a most lucrative affair, for it sometimes yielded in one day as much as four or five thousand pounds of silver. We must not omit to mention that, as the Cathedral had great revenues, the ecclesiastical buildings and their appliances were magnificent in proportion; and silver plate, such as tankards and goblets and dishes, was in abundance. But all this grandeur was destined to be of short duration. Thrice the Cathedral was struck by lightning; and at the Reformation, not content with stealing all the valuables and works of art, the fanatical mob set fire to the building.

Peder Friis, who was Torfæus' informant, attributes the whole building to Archbishop Eystein[1]. But so gigantic a work was scarcely due to one man, or one age. An account of the Cathedral, by the celebrated antiquary, Gerard Schöning, Rector of the High School, Trondhjem, appeared in the Proceedings of the Literary Society of that city, 1762. But this is superseded by the description of the Cathedral by Professor Munch[2].

Since writing the above, we have lighted on the following account in another work by Professor Munch. 'Olaf Tryggvason built the first church in Nidaros, S. Clement's, but only of wood. It was rebuilt of stone by S. Olaf. His church of S. Clement was hitherto wrongly sup-

[1] In the interior, at the north-west end of the apse, is a mitred head, the portrait of a person of great intelligence. According to tradition this represents Eystein himself.

[2] *Trondhjems Domkirke*, Text af Prof. P. A. Munch.; Tegninger af H. E. Schirmer (Christiania, 1859); a splendid work, published at the expense of the Norwegian Government. Here we learn that the building, begun under Eystein, who planned the whole work and finished the transepts, was continued under Sigurd, who founded the nave, and completed under Archbishop Jón, A.D. 1280.

posed to be the so-called chapter-house connected with the cathedral. After his death, a wooden church was erected on the spot where his body had lain buried for a year, in a sandbank, to the south, near the river. In place of this wooden church Olaf Kyrre built later a stone church, called Christ Church, or Trinity Church. South of it, but perhaps near to it, Harald Hardrada had already erected a large stone church, called S. Mary's. These two churches, Trinity and S. Mary's, thus stood close side by side of each other, till the time of Archbishop Eystein. He had both taken down, and in the place of the first, he erected the renowned and magnificent Christ Church (begun after 1161). It was enlarged under Archbishop Sigurd (from 1248), who added the grand west front, now in ruins. The entrance to the choir in which the shrine of S. Olaf was placed nearly coincided with the spot where once stood the high altar of S. Mary's Church[1].' (Munch, *Histor.-geograph. Beskrivelse over Norge*, p. 33.)

Eystein's motive in writing the legend would seem to have been a mixed one. Deeply penetrated by an affection and admiration for the man who had planted the cross in the Northern regions, and had forced his countrymen out of a dark and grovelling heathenism into the light and elevation of the Christian creed, he only saw the bright side of the shield,—the holy zeal of the missionary, the high object he had in view,—and shut his eyes to his method of accomplishing the work. And so the task he sets before himself is to extol and eulogize a martyr. But at the same time, to judge from the records of the Archbishop's life, he must have had a further object in view. Filled with a conscientious, doubtless, but overweening and exaggerated notion of the just claims and high position of the clergy, he was here, as in all the active concerns of his life, bent on magnifying his office, and increasing the power of the hierarchy, though it might be by indirect means; while a man of his worldly shrewdness would not be slow to perceive that the

[1] See further P. A. Munch, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, af G. Storm (Christiania, 1873-1876), I. pp. 333 sqq., where with a few strokes of the pen he demolishes the learned Schöning's theories about the Cathedral and the site of S. Clement's Church. S. Clement, be it said, was a dedication much affected by Danish and Norwegian Vikings who had been christened in England, e.g. S. Clement Danes in London. Cf. Newcourt, I. 589.

result of the publication of such a work—first, probably, as a homily in the vernacular (pp. 97 and 115, 'audientem,' and 'dilectissimi fratres'), in the Cathedral church on S. Olaf's day; and, secondly, as a book in the Latin tongue, to be copied and sent to the monasteries abroad—would attract fresh bands of pilgrims from all parts to the martyr's shrine, and replenish the coffers of the Cathedral clergy[1]. And, sooth to say, great sums of money would be needed to make up for the constant drain entailed upon them by the erection of this vast edifice[2]. Incidentally in the latter part of the work, where Eystein gives an account of his own personal experiences of the Saint's powers, interesting details, as we have seen, are blended with the thaumaturgic element, throwing light upon the condition of society in his days, its mode of thought, its state of culture, and a variety of ordinary pursuits and callings. Lastly, he removes all doubt as to the high sanction under which the book is given to the world.

The thanks of the editor are due to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for the loan of the manuscript, and to the authorities of the Bodleian Library, who gave him their kind assistance. But he is especially bound to acknowledge the great help of Professor Gustav Storm, of the University of Christiania, at whose instance mainly he undertook the work.

[1] That the See of Nidaros was well endowed is clear from the inventory of its lands and other goods. Aslak Bolt's *Jordebog*, ed. P. A. Munch, Christiania, 1852.

[2] Archbishop Sigurd (1231–1252), the builder of the nave, procured the institution in the kingdom of a yearly payment of one penny for every head of cattle, two-thirds of which went to the Cathedral of Trondhjem under the name of *Olafskot*, and one-third, called *Hallvardskot*, to the Cathedral of S. Hallvard at Oslo. This new payment, undertaken by the people and recommended by King Hacon, shows that the construction of Nidaros Cathedral was regarded as a national enterprise. This glorious pile is being successfully restored under the architect, Mr. Christie.

PASSIO ET MIRACULA
BEATI OLAUI.

THE text tallies generally with that in *Acta Sancti Olavi Regis et Martiris*, edited by Professor Gustav Storm, in *Monumenta Historica Norwegiae* (Christiania, 1880), as far as it goes. In the notes Storm's edition is referred to as *S.*, and important discrepancies are pointed out. *Hom.* refers to *Gammelnorsk Homiliebog* (= Old-Norse Homily Book), Cod. Arn. Magn. 619. Q. V., edited by Unger, Christiania, Part I, 1862; Part II, 1864. This Old-Norse translation of our legend commences at p. 146 of that volume with no further heading than 'In die Sancti Olaui Regis et Martiris.' It corresponds for the most part closely, as far as it goes, with the Latin original. The Corpus Christi College manuscript is indicated in the notes by *C. C. C.* *Heimskr.* denotes Snorri's History of the Kings, ed. Unger, 1868. *Geisli* = the poem so called, otherwise *Olafs drapa ens helga*, ed. G. Cederschiöld, Lund Univ. Års-skrift, tom. x. 1873; cf. *Flateyb.* i. p. 1. *Leg. Saga* = *Olafs Saga hins Helga*, ed. Keyser and Munch, Christiania, 1849. *Olaf den Hell. Saga* = Snorri's Historic Saga *par excellence*, ed. Munch and Unger, Christiania, 1853. *Fornmanna Sögur* = the book under that title in twelve volumes, Copenhagen, 1825–35, the fourth and fifth volumes of which contain a history of S. Olaf. *Flateyb.* = *Flateyjarbok*, a vellum brought from Iceland by Thormod Torfaeus in 1662, as a present to King Frederick III, ed. Vigfusson and Unger, Christiania, 1868. *Ann. Isl.* = *Islenzkir Annálar, sive Annales Islandici, sumptibus legati Arnamagnaeani*, Hafniae, 1847. *Diplom. Norvagicum*, I–IX, ed. Unger and Lange, Christiania, 1849–78. *Diplom. Islandicum*, I–III, ed. Jón Sigurdsson, Copenhagen, 1857–76. *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, in two volumes, ed. Unger, Christiania, 1877.

PASSIO ET MIRACULA
BEATI OLAUI.

[CAP. I.]

INCIPIT PASSIO BEATI OLAUI REGIS ET MARTIRIS.

REGNANTE[1] illustrissimo rege olauo apud Noruuegiam, que est terra pregrandis, versus aquilonem locata, a meridie daciam[2] habens, eandem ingressi sunt terram pedes euuangelizancium pacem, euuangelizancium bona[3]. Hactenus sacrilegis ydolorum mancipate ritibus, et supersticiosis erroribus deluse, nationes ille ueri dei cultum et fidem audierant; audierant quidem, set multi suscipere contempserant. Sicut enim loca aquiloni proxima inhabitabant, ita familiarius eas possederat, et tenaciori glacie infidelitatis astrinxerat aquilo ille, a quo panditur omne malum super uniuersam faciem terre, et a cuius facie ollam succensam uidet ieremias[4], et qui in ysaia iactanter profert: Super astra celi exaltabo solium meum, sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus aquilonis[5]. Ceterum magnus dominus et laudabilis, qui de lateribus[6] edificat ciuitatem suam, austri placido flamine aquilonis dissipauit duriciam. Et gentium efferarum obstinatos ac feroces animos calore fidei tandem emolliuit. Audierunt auditum a domino, et legatos ad illas gentes

[1] Cap. I. Sect. 1. *S.*
[2] Dacia is the common middle-age Latin for Dania.
[3] Romans x. 15.
[4] Jeremiah i. 13, 14. There is a curious resemblance here to a passage in the *Miracles of S. John of Beverley*, by W. Ketell, a clerk of Beverley, who wrote probably about 1150. He is speaking of the Northern rebellion which occurred in the reign of William the Conqueror. 'Plebs Aquilonis provinciae (quoniam ab Aquilone pandetur omne malum) barbarae nationis feritate vesana, novi principis dispositionibus renuit mancipari.' Raine's *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. i. p. 265 (Rolls Series).
[5] Isaiah xiv. 13.
[6] Cf. Psalm xlviii. 8.

misit, precones uerbi sui, qui ueritatem, que est in christo ihesu, partibus illis predicarent, culturam euerterent ydolorum, credentibus uitam indeficientem et gaudia eterna promitterent, incredulos et rebelles futuri iudicii et perhennis supplicii metu deterrerent[1].

Huic[2] tunc, ut diximus, prouincie[3] preerat, rex olauus, qui, licet gentilis, natura tamen benignus erat, et ad honesta queque sequenda quadam mentis ingenuitate promtissimus. Hic, euangelice ueritatis sinceritate in anglia comperta, fidem toto admisit pectore, et ad baptismi gratiam in urbe rotomagi[4] deuota animi alacritate conuolauit. Purificatus igitur lauacro salutari, repente mutatus est in alium uirum, et, iuxta quod apostolus ait, consepultus christo per baptismum in mortem, oblitus que retro sunt, in anteriora se extendens, in nouitate uite suscepte religionis perfectissimus obseruator ambulabat[5]. Sordebat ei omnis una[6] delectacio, et terreni regni gloria pre dulcedine celestis[7] uilescebat. In regali fastigio constitutus spiritu pauper erat, et terrenis negociis implicatus nichilominus meditabatur celestia. Quicquid diuina lex prohibet uehementer abhorrebat; quicquid precipit ardentissimo complectebatur amore[8].

Nec[9] propria salute contentus, populos quibus, diuina dispensante prouidentia, prestitutus erat, ad fidem uigilanti conuertere nitebatur instantia. Et nouo rerum ordine rex apostoli uice fungens, ipse dux uerbi

[1] In *C. C. C.* detererent. [2] Sect. 2. *S.* [3] kingdom: see Ducange.

[4] According to Snorri, *Saga Olafs Tryggv.* 67, when Olaf was three winters old, Olaf Tryggvason came to Ringarike to spread Christianity, and had him baptized, himself standing godfather. William of Jumièges, *De ducibus Normannis*, lib. v, c. 12, writes: 'Rex autem Olavus super Christiana religione oblectatus, spreto idolorum cultu, cum nonnullis suorum, hortante Rodberto archiepiscopo, ad Christi fidem conversus est, atque ab eo baptismate lotus et sacro chrismate delibutus, de percepta gratia gaudens, ad regnum suum regressus est. Postea vero a suis proditus et a perfidis injuste peremptus caelestem regiam intrauit, rex et martyr gloriosus, et nunc apud gentem illam choruscat prodigiis et virtutibus.' Cf. *Theod. Monach. Hist.* c. xiii. See Introduction, p. 9. [5] Romans vi. 4.

[6] vana *S.* [7] caelesti *S.* [8] affectu *S.* [9] Sect. 3. *S.*

Christi gratiam passim omnibus predicabat. Non nullos eciam predicationis gratia, que difusa erat in labiis eius, ita[1] nefandis demonum cultibus ad agnitionem et reverentiam sui creatoris reduxit. Nonnullos ad seculi contemptum, et amorem superne patrie mirabilis eius deuocio et uita continentissima medullitus inflammauit. Cuius enim obstinationem, cuius duriciam insignissimi regis sermo dulcis, et sapientia plenus spiritali, non frangeret! Cuius torporem uel desidiam conuersatio singularis illius non excitaret!

Uerumptamen[2] in medio nationis praue et peruerse positus, licet multos conuerteret, quam plurimos tamen habebat aduersarios fortes et potentes[3], in quibus maiorem locum sibi uendicabat uoluntas quam pietas, consuetudo quam ratio, animi preceps impetus quam amor ueritatis. Hii nobilissimi christi martiris predicationi et operibus sanctis totis nisibus obuiabant, et uias domini rectas euertere conabantur. Iustus autem, ut leo confidens, absque terrore erat, et iuxta exemplum beati iob non expauescebat ad multitudinem nimiam[4]; nec despectio propinquorum terrebat eum; nec aduersancium minis uel insidiis auerti poterat a predicationis constantia.

Ihesu[5] bone quantos labores, quantas persecuciones sustinuit, antequam populum incredulum et sibi contradicentem a sua posset peruersitate deflectere! Datum siquidem erat illi non solum ut christum crederet, set eciam ut pro illo pateretur[6]. Nec solum pati, nec solum temporalis regni diadema pro christo paratus erat deponere, set eciam per coronam martirii ad perhennium gloriam gaudiorum pertingere desiderabat. O quam deuote caritatis flagrantia, quantus fidei feruor excellentissimi christi martiris pectus accenderat, qui in medio gencium indomitarum constitutus, quibus, iuxta salomonem, confidentibus in stulticia sua non[7] minus tutum erat occurrere, quam urse seuienti raptis catulis[8]. Non cessabat tamen salutare fidei uerbum, quod abhorrebat[9] publice

[1] a *S.* [2] Sect. 4. *S.* [3] Homily 147. [4] Job xxxi. 34; Prov. xxviii. 1. [5] Sect. 5. *S.* [6] Philip. i. 29. [7] non *caret S.* [8] Proverbs xvii. 12. [9] abhorrebant *S.*

et priuatim quantiscunque posset ingerere. Plurimum profecit in breui, et innumerabilem domino multitudinem adquisiuit. Confluebant ad baptisma certatim populi, et numerus credentium augebatur indies. Effringebantur statue, succidebantur luci, euertebantur delubra. Ordinabantur sacerdotes, et fabricabantur ecclesie. Offerebant donaria populi cum deuocione et alacritate. Erubescebant ydolorum cultores, confundebantur qui confidebant in scultili, et in multis illius regionis partibus, fidelium[1] depressa multitudine, mutire non audiens[2], omnis iniquitas opilabat os suum.

Exultabat[3] rex plus quam credi potest, laborum suorum gratissimos fructus jam in presenti percipiens. Non cessabat autem indefessus euangelii predicator, nunc obstinatos conuincere, nunc instruere rudes, nunc in fide teneros confirmare. Nichil regii fastus, nichil tirannidis in suos exercebat subditos; immo omnibus exempla prebebat magne humilitatis et mansuetudinis. In futuro eciam prouinciis quibus preerat prouidens, ne nobiliores quique et potenciores per potenciam humiliores opprimerent, leges diuinas et humanas[4] multa plenas sapientia,

[1] infidelium *S.* [2] audens *S.* Cf. Ps. cvi. 42, Vulg. [3] Sect. 6. *S.*

[4] Many of the good things in Church and State, so great was his popularity, came to be attributed to S. Olaf, pretty much as, in England, the great king Alfred was fastened upon by the national mind as the author of a good deal that was not strictly his work. Thus in popular estimation S. Olaf was looked upon perhaps more than any of his predecessors on the throne—whether the mythic Odin, or Halfdan, or Hacon—as the embodiment of all previous law-making kings; just as Alfred's Dooms were in fact a collection of the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, and Offa. How much or how little S. Olaf is responsible for, it is useless to inquire. Snorri tells us that he 'set' the laws for the Uplands (i. e. the southern and inland counties of Norway), and for the great southern district of Viken on the Christiania-fjord.—*Olaf den Helliges Saga*, c. 31, and *ibid.* c. 101. And again, Snorri says of the northern districts of the country, 'He had the laws read to him which King Hacon, Athelstan's foster-son, had made in Trondhjem, and with the help of his wisest counsellors added thereto, or took from them, according as seemed best. While he fixed the Christian Laws with the help of Bishop Grimkel and others.'—*Olaf den Helliges Saga*, c. 43. Cf. *Ældre Gulathings-Lög*, c. 10: 'The Ecclesiastical Laws which S. Olaf and Bishop Grimkel fixed at the Thing held on the Isle of Mostr.' Cf. *Sverris Saga*, 109 (117): 'The laws of the land which were made by S. Olaf.' So Swerrir's grandson, King Hacon Haconson, in the preamble to *Frostathings-Lög*, which was preserved in a book called Grey-

et mira compositas discrecione, scripsit et promulgauit; in quibus suum cuique conditioni ius assignauit. In illis[1] etiam, quantum liceret prelatis in subiectos, et quantam subiecti reuerenciam exhiberent erga prelatos, certis limitibus discreuit. Ibi modestissimus et equissimus arbiter, sapienter considerans plerumque reges potestate sibi consessa[2] superbe abuti in subditos, legum rigore regalem cohercuit et refrenauit licenciam. In illis regibus[3] claret quam deuotus erga deum, quam benignus erga proximum, rex gloriosus extiterit.

Explicari uerbis non potest, quanta beneficia populis illis rex sepe nominatus contulerit, quantum profuit dum prefuit, et in promulgacione legum, et in sustentacione pauperum, et assiduitate predicationis, et exemplo sue sanctissime conuersationis. Set e conuerso perpessus est ab eis tribulaciones multas et malas, donec illorum multitudini resistere non ualens secesit[5] in rusciam, oportunum ratus cedere tempori, donec uoluntati sue ac proposito tempus idoneum dominus conferre dignaretur. Nemini ueniat in mentem fortissimum et constantissimum christi athletam, ut est infirmitatis humane, cessisse perterritum metu passionis, qui sepenumero passioni sese[6] sponte obiecerat, sicut rei exitus et ipsius illustre martirium declarauit. Utilitati aliorum, oportuniori se reseruauit tempori, quando fructus uberiores exibere[7] domino, et talentum sibi commissum multiplici resignare posset cum usura.

Clarissimus[8] igitur christi martir ingressus russiam, a iarzellauo, eiusdem prouincie rege magnifico, gloriose susceptus, et in honore am-

goose: 'The laws of S. Olaf are to stand as he fixed them.' In Iceland also their old law collections were erroneously called 'Greygoose,' and referred at a later period to the Saint. Cf. *Diplom. Isl.* p. 76: 'Codicem mitto legum priscarum quas rex Olavus, cognomine sanctus, nobis (Islandis) quondam dedisse dicitur, qui codex Graagas vulgo appellatur.'—Letter of Bishop Brynjolf Sveinson to King Frederick III; cf. 54, 64, 67, *ibid.* See Maurer's exhaustive treatise on this intricate subject: s.v. 'Grágás,' Ersch and Grüber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste.*

[1] Homily 148.
[2] MS. has 'concessa,' corrected later.
[3] legibus *S.*
[4] Sect. 7. *S.*
[5] sic.
[6] In MS. 'sepe' corrected.
[7] sic.
[8] Sect. 8. *S.*

plissimo, quamdiu ibi morari uoluit, habitus est. Ubi[1] non paruo tempore demoratus, honestam uite formam, et sue religionis, caritatis, benignitatis, et patiencie celebre monimentum incolis reliquit. Denique decoratus[2] igne persecutionis et exilii, acceptabilis inuentus et idoneus, qui maiora certamina posset sustinere, diuino inspiratus instinctu per suecie fines ad propria remeauit. Ubi collata sibi a domino habundantiore gratia, a multis cum magno susceptus desiderio, graciosus et optabilis bonis, uerendus ac terribilis apparuit sane doctrine aduersariis. Indutus igitur lorica fidei, et accinctus gladio spiritus, quod est uerbum dei[3], per infamiam et bonam famam, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per arma iusticie a dextris et a sinistris[4], orator egregius fidei uerbum constanter ubique disseminabat in uia, paratus pro christo quaslibet[5] persecutiones. Obiciebat se sponte periculis, martirium, si deo placuisset, suscipere non recusans.

Et quoniam[6] dignus est operarius mercede sua, tandem domino placuit agonistam suum de carcere carnis educere, ut plenissimam et superhabundantem laborum suorum reciperet mercedem, et regem rex uideret in decore suo[7]. Erat quedam pars illius terre, in qua modo sacratissimum corpus eius requiescit, cuius incole indurati et pertinaces in malicia sua, ueritatis, et ideo regis, hostes erant inexorabiles. In hanc uenit prouinciam christi martir forte dei gratiam populis incredulis predicaturus. Quo comperto ueritatis hostes conuocauerunt concilium iniquitatis, et conuenerunt in unum aduersus dominum et aduersus christum eius[8]. Erat namque eius salutifera predicatio ipsis et eorum operibus ualde contraria. Unde quidam ex eis cuiusdam cnuti[9] eius ad-

[1] Ibi *S.* [2] decoctus *S.* So also in *Brev. Aberdon.* iii, see Appendix I.
[3] Ephes. vi. 17. [4] 2 Cor. vi. 8. [5] In *S.*, pati before quaslibet.
[6] Sect. 9. *S.* [7] Isaiah xxxiii. 17. [8] Acts iv. 26.
[9] This 'certain Cnut' was Canute the Great. *Hom.* (149. 7) adds, 'Their leader was Calfr Arnason.' *Theodorici Monachi Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium* (c. xix) adds also the name of Thorir Hund.

uersarii muneribus corrupti, quidam uero solius malitie instinctu, set et nouam religionem paternis scilicet legibus contrariam suscipere recusantes, ordinato excercitu, in loco qui nunc styclastader[1] apellatur, ignorantem et a sua gente aliquantulum distantem, bello excipiunt. Set illustrissimus martir, qui, totus suspensus in celestia, per martirrii coronam illuc peruenire intimis desiderabat precordiis, a facie multitudinis non timuit. Imminet illi bellum, quod amator pacis pro iusticia et equitate pugnaturus suscepit. Excercitu itaque, quantum in breui potuit, congregato obuiauit inimicis.

Porro[2] dominus, qui martiri suo mercedem, pro quo tot agones pertulerat, reddere, et gloriam suam, quam diutius et auidius sitierat, iam reuelare decreuerat, ut gloriosius eum coronaret, iniquorum iaculis gloriosum martirem occumbere permisit. Occubuit autem iiiito kalendas octobris[3], feria iiiita[4], millesimo et xxviii anno ab incarnatione domini, pro fidei defensione ab inimicis fidei crudeliter interemptus[5]; feliciter de castris ad eterna regis palatia, de bello migrans ad pacem, que exsuperat omnem sensum, ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri ihesu[6] christi, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. amen.

[1] Sticlastather *S.* This spelling with *d* in our MS., not ð, betokens the writer to have been no Norseman. So Gubormus, and Dyblinnie (Cap. II, in *S.*), and Holmgarder (Cap. II, sect. xiv). But the copyist (fol. 62, 10) speaks of Trondhjem as '*hec* urbs.' In *S.* hec is omitted.

[2] Sect. 10. *S.* Sic in *C. C. C.*

[3] Octobris is a curious error for Augusti.

[4] Midweek-day (Wednesday), now called S. Olaf's Day (the former) (Hom. 149. 30). The Sagas unanimously fix the day of his death as July 29, 1030, which was a Wednesday; but Professor Keyser prefers Friday, Aug. 31, 1030, when an eclipse of the sun occurred in the afternoon. *Norges Historie*, I, 410, note 3.

[5] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle places his death in 1030, adding, 'and was afterwards holy.' Florence of Worcester writes: 'MXXX. Sanctus Olavus, rex et martyr, Haroldi regis Norreganorum filius, [quem rex Canutus expulerat], reversus in Norregiam injuste perimitur a Norreganis.'—*Sim. Dunelm. add.*

[6] dominus—secula seculorum. *caret S.*

EXPLICIT UITA SANCTI OLA(UI) REGIS ET MARTIRIS.
INCIPIUNT MIRACULA EIUSDEM.

Opere[1] precium est de multis miraculis, que ad commendanda merita gloriosi martiris olaui dominus operari dignatus est, pauca perstringere, quatinus in laudem et reuerentiam diuine pietatis audientium[2] excitentur animi, et quantam gratiam et gloriam dominus sancto suo dederit fidelibus innotescat.

Nocte igitur precedente diem, qua martir inclitus passus est, apparuit[3] ei dominus ihesus, demulcens illum uerbis bonis, uerbis consolatoriis. Accede, inquid, ad me, dilecte mi, tempus est ut laborum tuorum fructus dulcissimos carpas, et in sempiterna leticia nostro consorcio fruens, coronam suscipias honoris eterni. Qua uisione martir admodum confortatus, et suauitate ineffabili, quam perceperat, supra modum delectatus[4], passioni se letus optulit, iam diuinitus scalam congnoscens, quam in somnis nuper ad celos erectam uiderat; postquam[5] ad dulcedinem, quam gustauerat, feliciter erat ascensurus.

Euoluto[6] itaque passionis illius tempore, cum in domo quadam sanctissimum corpus eius regales lauissent ministri, proiecta est ante ostium domus aqua mixta sanguine, que de uulneribus martiris beati defluxerat.

[1] In *S.* from 'Opere' to 'innotescat' is preamble to Cap. II, and 'Nocte' to 'ascensurus' is given as Sect. xi, Cap. I.

[2] This history, then, is intended for public reading in the church.

[3] 'Apparuit ei' to 'demulcens': so in *Geisli* and in Homily; but a different account is given, Schol. 42, Adam of Bremen, ii. 59 (Pertz, *Scriptores*, vii. 327), 'Olaph . . . in ipso procinctu fertur in papilione dormiens sompnium vidisse. Cumque supervenirent hostes, adhuc illo quiescente, dux sui exercitus, Phin nomine, accedens, regem excitavit. Tunc ille suspirans "O, quid fecisti?" inquit. "Videbam me per scalam, cujus vertex sidera tangeret, ascendisse. Heu, jam perveneram ad summum illius scalae, caelumque mihi apertum est ingredienti, nisi tu me suscitando revocasses." Postquam visionem vidit rex, circumventus a suis, cum non repugnaret, occiditur et martyrio coronatur.' Cf. *Heimskringla*, 481; *Olaf Saga hins Helg.* c. 211; *Leg. Saga*, c. 89.

[4] et sua—delectatus *caret S.*

[5] per quam *S.*

[6] Cap. II, sect. 1. *S.* In *Hom. Mir.* i. *Brev. Aberdon.* Lect. v.

Cecus igitur quidam ante domum eandem transiens, prolapsus est in locum, qui adhuc aqua infecta sanguine madebat. Cumque digitos suos madefactos eadem aqua ad oculos suos reduxisset, illico detersa caligine lumen pristinum recepit[1].

Obstupuit igitur uehementer, in quo diuinum fiebat miraculum, et de cuius sanguine aqua respersa fuisset[2] cercius[3] explorans, se per merita beati olaui uisum recepisse certissime cognouit. Mirati sunt omnes qui audierunt nouitatem miraculi, et diuinam pietatem dignis extulere preconiis, qui martirem suum tam insigni clarificare miraculo dignabatur.

QUALITER DUX QUIDAM DE HIBERNIA INTERUENTU BEATI OLAUI REGEM INIUSTE SIBI ADUERSANTEM SUPERAUIT.

Erat[4] in hibernia dux quidam gubormus[5] nomine, nacione noricus, scilicet beati martiris olaui nepos, uir genere preclarus, et armis potens. Hic cum rege dyblinnie[6] margodo[7] federatus, et quadam familiari societate coniunctus erat. Contigit autem, ut ambo pariter in expeditionem cum innumerosa classe profecti inde multis opibus et manubiis copiosis locupletati reuerterentur. Quadam ergo die, cum spolia inter se diuisuri conuenissent, uidens rex prefatus predam innumerabilem, amore cupiditatis cecatus est, et mutue societatis et alterni sacramenti contemptor, proponit duci ut eligat unum quod uellet e duobus, aut mihi, inquid, omnia relinquens[8] cum nauibus spolia, aut a me bellum tibi illatum sustinebis. Inter

[1] *Geisli*, 22–24; *Hom.* 150; *Leg. Saga*, c. 103; *Olafs Saga*, c. 236.

[2] Obstupuit—fuisset *caret S.*

[3] In *S.* Qui miraculum before cercius.

[4] Sect. 2. *S.* See *Geisli*, 31–34; *Hom.* 150; *Leg. Saga*, 104; *Olafs Saga*, 266. Snorri says that Guðorm was son of Ketil Kalv and Olaf's half-sister Gunnhild.

Heims., Saga Harald Sigurtharson, Ch. 55

[5] Marks in the vellum indicate that the b in this word may have been originally written rightly þ (the runic th), the lower part of which letter was subsequently erased. Guthormus, *S.*

[6] *Hom.* Dyflinni.

[7] In Snorri, Maddad; according to the Irish authorities, Each-Margach mac Ragnaill was king in Dublin (1035–38, 1046–52). Snorri, following *Geisli*, places the battle in the Sound of the Isle of Anglesea.

[8] relinques *S.*

has positus dux gubormus[1] angustias quo se uerteret nesciebat. Relinquere predam cum nauibus turpe sibi et indecorum nimis uidebatur; bellum suscipere periculosum admodum erat. Erat enim inter exercitus grandis distancia. Nam rex predictus xv naues habuisse dicitur, dux uero tantum v. Dux itaque anxius biduanas petit inducias, si forte tirannum a nequicia excogitata posset deflectere. Nam eodem die erat uigilia beati martiris olaui. Postquam uero animum barbari nullis potuit precibus emollire, elegit honeste mori, quam cum dedecore tanto et infamia sui generis spolia sua cum nauibus relinquere tiranno. Quia tamen humanum deerat, diuinum implorat auxilium, et beatum martirem olauum, ut sibi succurrat, deuote precatur. Promisit se in ecclesia martiris crucem facturum argenteam, si se de manu regis perfidi liberaret. Quid multa? Ordinato excercitu inimicis occurrit agminibus, et fortissime dimicans, ope christi, et gloriosissimi martiris interuentu, totam barbarorum multitudinem prosternit. Inopinata ergo potitus uictoria, et cum multis spoliis et leticia magna[2] reuersus, crucem fecit argenteam noue[3] magnitudinis, longe humani corporis modum excedentem, et posuit eam in hac[4] ecclesia beati martiris ad corpus eius, in diuini triumphi et inopinate uictorie, quam per merita eius obtinuerat, monimentum.

Preciosi martiris, et miraculorum, que ad declarandum eius gloriam dominus operari dignatus est, preciosa fama longe lateque percrepuit, nec noruuegie finibus contenta coartari dilatata est in fines terre[5]. Apud[6] regiam urbem constantinopolim celebris est eius memoria, et

[1] Guthormus, *S.*; plainly Gubormus, the scribe having entirely discarded þ, in *C.C.C.*

[2] et leticia magna *caret S.* [3] mirae *S.* [4] hac *caret S.*

[5] Preciosi—terre *caret S.*

[6] Sect. 3. *S. Hom.* 151, *Mir.* iii; *Geisli*, 52–56; *Breviar. Aberdon.* 6. In *Olaf den Hell. Saga*, c. 267, where this miracle is recorded, the emperor is named Kirialax = Kyrios Alexios, i.e. Alexios Comnenos, who died in 1118. The odds were sixty to one (*Leg. Saga*, 105), the place Pitzinavelli on the banks of the Bitzina in Bulgaria. In the emperor's pay were a number of Varangians. One summer, on a campaign, it was their duty to keep watch and ward over him. At night those who had been relieved from guard lay down to sleep with their helmets on

in ciuitate eadem in honore martiris ecclesia fabricata est. Accidit enim quadam tempestate, ut prefate urbis imperator excercitu collecto aduersus quendam paganorum regem preliaturus procederet. Ordinate utrimque acies, et studio militari disposite bellum ineunt. Inuadunt christianos acerrime barbari, et in primo congressu uictores existunt. Occumbit pars maxima grecorum, et christiani excercitus robur elanguet. Restabat acies non grandis, que nichil aliud prestolabatur quam mortem. Desolatus imperator, et fere corde dissolutus, ad diuinum se conuertit auxilium, et beati martiris opem profusis implorant omnes pariter lacrimis, quem pro iusticia pugnantibus frequenter adesse, fama referente, didicerant. Uouent[1] se sub nomine martiris, et in honore sancte marie uirginis, in urbe regia fabricaturos ecclesiam, si eius interuentu uictores remearent. O preclarum et insigne miraculum! Apparet martir quibusdam de excercitu, et christianam aciem signifer[2] insignis precedit. Horror inuadit hostilem excercitum, et metu diuino percussi omnes uertuntur in fugam. Immanes barbaros, quibus paulo ante multus et fortis resistere non ualebat excercitus, auxilio martiris munita persequitur acies non grandis. Fit paganorum strages innumera, et multis onusti spoliis uictores christiani reuertuntur. Imperator igitur cum uictoria constantinopolim regressus, et uoti, quo se

their heads, their swords under them, the right hand clutching the hilt, and their shields over the body. One of them, on being awakened in the morning, missed his sword, which he found lying on the ground at some distance. Thinking that it was a joke of his comrades, he taxed them with removing it, but they denied it. This happened three nights running. A great debate arose in consequence. What could be the meaning of it? Upon this the man said that the sword was called Hneitir = the cutter (*Fornmanna Sögur*, iv. 58), and was worn by S. Olaf at Stikklestad. The affair reached the ears of the emperor, who summoned the soldier to his presence, and gave him three swords, each of the same weight as his own. This the emperor caused to be hung over the altar of S. Olaf's Church in Myklagard (Constantinople). A Norwegian baron, Endridi by name, who was there at the time, brought an account of the whole transaction to Norway.

[1] In MS. Uouuent.

[2] *Breviar. Aberdon.* Lect. vi. According to Snorri, on a white horse.

apud beatum[1] martirem obligauerant, non immemor, in honore sancte marie uirginis ecclesiam fabricat, ad cuius opus fabrice tam deuota fuit et promta populi oblatio, quatenus perfecta ecclesia ingenti, et peractis omnibus, que ad eius ornatum erant necessaria, adhuc de pecunia oblata multum superesset. Et quoniam hiis et aliis multis beneficiorum insigniis omnium animus in beati martiris obsequio deuotus extiterat, multarum preciosarum[2] et inde missarum rerum splendore hec, in qua ipse requiescit, testatur ecclesia.

DE PANIBUS IN CLIBANO IN LAPIDES CONUERSIS.

Erat[3] in dacia prepositus quidam, uir odibilis et prauus, et, ut de iniquo legitur iudice, nec deum nec homines reuerens[4]. Hic ancillam habebat natam in prouincia beati martiris olaui, et hec erat erga uenerationem sancti deuotissima. Prepositus ille, ut erat homo peruersus et nequam, et qui laudes bonorum ingenti deprauaret studio[5], non credebat hiis, que de martire dicebantur. Sed quicquid de miraculis eius et gloria communis omnium uulgabat assertio, rumorem ficticium[6] et ridiculum estimabat. Contigit autem ut passionis eiusdem regis et martiris annua reuerteretur sollempnitas, quam cum magna ueneratione regionis illius homines celebrant. Uir ergo pessimus ad ostendendam maliciam suam inueniens tempus idoneum[7] prauitatem quam pridem in corde tractauerat in opere demonstrauit. Non solum enim noluit exhibere reuerentiam sancti natalitio, sed eciam, ad contemptum illius, prefate mulieri, quam

[1] In *S.* deum et before beatum. The dedication must have been to the Virgin and S. Olaf. But Snorri does not mention that the promised church was built.

[2] Here we learn that the church at Trondhjem was adorned with precious objects brought from Constantinople.

[3] Sect. 4. *S.* *Hom.* 153, *Mir.* iiii; *Geisli*, 35, 36; *Leg. Saga*, 106; *Olafs Saga*, 268. Prepositus probably means the reeve, bailiff, or local magistrate, not 'provost,' as in the old Swedish Legend.

[4] S. Luke xviii. 2.

[5] ut—studio *caret S.*

[6] In *C. C. C.* fiticium, with *c* superscribed in later hand.

[7] ad ostendendam—idoneum *caret S.*

erga uenerationem martiris ceteris deuotionem[1] comprerat, precepit ut, in ipso festiuitatis die, panes deferat ad coquendum. Illa, quia peruersitatem hominis nouerat, et se tormentis sciebat affligendam grauissimis, nisi obsecundaret illius scelerati imperio, licet inuita, sacrilegis mandatis obtemperat. Panes defert ad clibanum, lesa uehementer, crebris gemitibus sanctum interpellans. Testatur quoque et iuramento confirmat, se nunquam deinceps delaturam[2] martiri, nisi certis declararet indiciis in tanta necessitate uirtutem suam. O recens, et ante tempus illud inauditum miraculum! uno eodemque momento et homo nequissimus percutitur cecitate, et panes in clibano positi conuertuntur in lapides[3]. Adhuc ex illis lapidibus unus in miraculi testimonium et memoriam in beati basilica reseruatur martiris[4].

DE LINGUA PUERI ABSCISA ET AD SEPULCRUM MARTIRIS EI RESTITUTA.

Pueri[5] cuiusdam falso impetiti crimine (ut sepe fert iustus crimen iniqui) lingua abscisa est. Hic fama miraculorum, que per sancti merita fieri frequenter audierat, excitatus, ad memoriam martiris uenit. Sanctum multis efflagitabat lacrimis, altis exorat gemitibus, ut loquendi officium quod iniuste perdiderat suo sibi restituat interuentu. Cum ergo ad sepulcrum martiris in oratione[6] et lacrimis aliquanto perseuerasset

[1] devotiorem *S.*

[2] In *S.* honorem after delaturam. This miracle (cf. p. 83 below) indicates that the martyr occasionally yielded to unseemly coercion.

[3] See Introduction, p. 45, Olaf-stones. The emblem varies. Sometimes it is a chalice; sometimes what looks like a 'cottage' loaf. The Norse antiquaries call this the Kingly orb. The loaf is unconnected with his name.

[4] *Hom. Mir.* v.

[5] Sect. 5. *S. Hom.* 153, *Mir.* v; *Geisli*, 37–39; *Olafs Saga*, 276. The *dramatis personae* are named in Monk Hall's relation (*Leg. Saga*, 119). The youth was Kolbein: the person who cut out his tongue, Thora, mother of Sigurd (King Sigurd Mund, who died 1155); while Snorri makes her to be mother to Sigurd the Crusader.

[6] In *C. C. C.* MS. orationem by error.

tempore, hora quadam placido sopore resolutus quiescebat, et ecce exeuntem de scrinio uidet hominem statura mediocrem, aspectu decorum, qui propius accedens, et manu sua os adolescentis aperiens, lingue truncate partem que remanserat tanta uirtute extraxit et extendit, ut uiolenciam conaminis adolescens ferre non ualens in somnis clamare cogeretur. A somno itaque sanus exsurgens[1] in dei laudes et martiris exultans prorupit[2]. Sic itaque, qui ad sepulcrum sancti merens et elinguis uenerat, libere loquens ad sua cum gaudio remeauit.

Alter[3] quidam a sclauis[4] captus, abscisa lingua, forte elapsus est. Hic ad memoriam[5] martiris ueniens, et ut lingue sue pristina redderetur sanitas cum intima cordis contricione postulans, usum loquendi quem amiserat recepit, seque in ecclesia eadem perhenni obsequio martiris mancipauit.

Mulier[6] quedam adeo deformiter contracta, ut pedes eius clunibus adherent[7], ad sepulcrum martiris allata est. Ubi cum in lacrimis et obsecratione uigili perseuerasset diucius, integre sospitati reddita, extensis neruis, erectis tibiis, confortatis pedibus, et singulis membris officio suo et forme redditis, hilaris et gaudens ad propria repedauit.

DE SACERDOTE OCULIS, LINGUA, TIBIIS DESTITUTO, ET MERITIS MARTIRIS SANITATI RESTITUTO.

Erant[8] duo uiri fratres, et hii genere clari habundantes in seculo obtinebant diuitias. Illis erat soror secundum carnis superficiem pulcra,

[1] In MS. exurgens. [2] Hiatus in *S.* from cum—prorupit, but given in *Hom.*

[3] Sect. 6. *S. Hom.* 154, *Mir.* vi; *Geisli*, 40–41; *Leg. Saga*, 114; *Heimskr.* 745; *Olafs Saga*, 277.

[4] In *Hom.* called 'Vends.' [5] memoria MS.

[6] Sect. 7. *S. Hom.* 154, *Mir.* vii, not mentioned in *Geisli*; *Leg. Saga*, 108; *Heimskr.* 657; *Olafs Saga*, c. 274. [7] adhaererent *S.*

[8] Sect. 8. *S. Hom.* 154, *Mir.* viii; *Geisli*, 58–61; *Leg. Saga*, 109 and 115; *Heimskr.* 657; *Olafs Saga*, c. 274. Snorri gives the names of all the parties, most likely copying the account in *Leg. Saga.* The priest was Rikard.

set, ut rei probauit exitus, ad prauorum detrectationes minime circumspecta. Hec cum quodam sacerdote anglico, qui in domo fratrum eiusdem mulieris manebat, deuotam habens familiaritatem, honesto zelo multa eidem contulerat beneficia. Accidit autem ut de muliere illa suspicio sinistra oriretur. Sed quia sermo malus mentem audientium facile solet inficere, propter assidua colloquia insonti sacerdoti culpa indicitur. Fratres autem eius ob magnam familiaritatem, qua sacerdoti coniuncta fuerat, quasi de re certi, et supra modum indignati sunt, et furore nimio succensi dolorem suum dissimulando suppresserunt. Quadam uero die sacerdotem nichil suspicantem mali euocant, et assumpto quodam cliente suo, iniquitatis quam conceperant conscio, quasi cuiusdam negocii gracia secum abducunt. Cum ergo remoti longe a domo sua in loca secreciora deuenissent, arripientes presbiterum nichil tale formidantem, frangunt ei tibias, abscidunt linguam, a capite oculos eruunt. Denique cum ille, dolore anxius, lingue residuum mouens balbutire uideretur, inuadentes eum, partem lingue quam reliquerant forcipibus extrahentes, iterum abscidunt, et eodem seminece relicto in domum cuiusdam paupercule mulieris ab ipsa defertur. Porro ille tantam expertus crudelitatem hominum de diuina clementia non diffidit. Ore tacens, deuoto corde efficatius loquitur; quo infirmior, eo fortior et potens, et ad gloriosum martirem olauum, de cuius meritis tam magna audierat, totis conuersis precordiis, illum sibi in tanta necessitate non deesse, quo miserior eo miserabilior, quo magis anxius eo enixius deposcit. Sic in oratione et gemitu et contricione cordis persistens opem martiris implorare non cessat, miser miseratione dignus; postero tandem die soporis quiete resoluitur. Et ecce apparuit ei sanctus martir, dicens se olauum esse, quem tam deuote et obnixe inuocauerat. Deinde eius oculos et tibias, et queque loca saucia blanda manu pertractans, tandem, ut ad linguam eius manum suam misit, lingue radices tanto extraxit conamine, ut, nimio dolore coactus, clamorem maximum sacerdos emitteret. Ilico, post salutarem tactum martiris, tam grauiter

leso tante diuine pietatis ubertas affuit, ut nichil omnino passus uideretur. Lingua reddita, tibie sanate, oculi restituti, et loca, si qua fuerant uulnerata uel lesa, integerrimam recepere sospitatem. In argumentum tamen quod oculi fuerant eruti, remansit in palpebris cicatrix candida.

QUOD DOLATURAS UIRGE, QUAM DOMINICA INCIDERAT, IN PALMA COMBUSSIT.

Accedamus[1] ad illud miraculum, quod in ore omnium uersatur, quod etsi narrationi nostre inserimus postremum, quantum tamen ad ordinem rei geste, primum fuit omnium que narrauimus. Contigit[2] enim, sancto adhuc in carne uiuente, quod quadam die dominica gloriosus rex olauus uirgulam, forte ubi residebat inuentam, cultello, quem in manu tenebat, dolaret, inmemor quod dominica dies esset. Obseruant enim in noruegia cum magna diligentia festos dies, nec ullus aliquid operis magni uel parui facere presumit. Unus igitur ex eis qui assistebant regi, uidens quia rex dominica die dolaret, nec tamen aperte ausus dicere quod dominica esset, hac illum uoce commouit[3]. Domine, inquit, rex, cras erit secunda feria. Qua commonitione rex ad se reuersus, et quia uirgam dolauerat dominica die uehementius dolens, omnes dolaturas uirge collegit, et collectas super manum suam igne adhibito combussit. Quibus combustis manus illius illesa apparuit. Innouatum[4] est ergo illud miraculum, quod olim apud babilonem in tribus pueris celebratum est. Ad consumendas uirgule particulas ignis uim naturalem habuit, nec omnino ledere ualuit innocentis regis manum.

[1] 'Accedamus—narrauimus,' *caret S. Hom.* 156, *Mir.* xiii; *Leg. Saga*, 110; *Heimskr.* 462; *Olafs Saga*, c. 186.

[2] Sect. 9. *S*. Snorri mentions this as having occurred during the period of Olaf's stay in Russia, and the Louvain Legendary says expressly 'ipso in Russia existenti.' Our author too states that, in order of time, it was the earliest of all that he has recorded.

[3] commonuit *S* (rightly).

[4] 'Innouatum—manum,' *caret S.*; given in *Hom.* 156. Cf. Daniel iii. 25.

QUALITER QUIDAM RUSTICUS PER INUOCATIONEM BEATI OLAUI SUSPENDIUM EUASIT.

Quodam[1] etiam tempore contigit aliud percelebre et inauditum miraculum. Nam[2] rusticus quidam, uir simplex et innocens, a quibusdam potentibus prouintie illius in qua manebat, non iusticie, sed odii causa, falso latrocinii crimine impetitur, et, postposita discussione, negans trahitur, et inimicorum preiuditio suspendio addicitur. Cumque anxius et miserabilis in gente peruersa nullum, cum oraret, iusticie locum uideret, de humano prorsus desperat auxilio. Unde ad dei misericordiam toto se uertebat pectore, et beatum martirem olauum enixius deprecatur, ut innocenti sibi apud deum precibus pro iusticia subueniat, qui nocentes[3] multociens a debita pena misericorditer suis precibus liberat. Quid plura? Ex adipe[4] prodiit iniquitas eorum; absque mora transiit in effectum: suspendunt insontem suspendio digni. Uerum legis statutor[5] sanctus olauus miseretur miserabili, affuit clamanti, pro innocentia iusticiam postulanti. Continuo namque, ut a terra leuatus est, quasi in uisione, uisus est sibi sanctus martir olauus pedibus suis asserem supposuise[6], cui innixus per nouem ferme horas illesus permansit, donec uxor sua et filii a quodam nobili reuerterentur, impetrata licentia ut corpus deponerent, et sepulture commendarent. Cumque aduenirent ut eum sustollerent, filius eius ascendit arborem, cui suspensus adherebat, que ex quodam promontorio alte fixa manebat[7]. Cuius summitatem cum predictus iuuenis serpendo attingeret,

[1] 'Quodam—Nam,' *caret S.*

[2] Sect. 10. *S. Hom.* 157, *Mir.* x; *Leg. Saga*, iii; *Flateyb.* II. 388; *Postula Sögur* (ed. Unger), II. 181.

[3] nocentibus *S.*

[4] Psalm xvii. 10; cxix. 70.

[5] scrutator *S.* For an account of Olaf's law-making see Note 4, p. 70 above; *Leg. Saga*, 31, and *Theod. Monachi Hist. de Antiq. Regum Norwagiensium*, cap. xvi: 'Leges patria lingua conscribi fecit juris et moderationis plenissimas, quae hactenus a bonis omnibus et tenentur et venerantur.'

[6] Sic in *C.C.C.*

[7] There is a touch of the Aeneid here; cf. ii. 650.

uibrato ictu ligamen, quo sustentabatur, precidit. Quod dum fieret, corpus miserabile in tale precipitium tendit, ut magis membratim crederetur comminui, quam etiam uiuenti salus posse sperari. Set nec casus asperitas, nec eminentia scopuli poterat inferre grauamen cui, pro iusticia, martiris meritum prestitit iuuamen. Qui statim quasi resolutus sopore resedit, uisionem uelud sompnium recolens. Cum autem, discedente algore, uigor membris accresceret, et, resumpto spiritu, paulatim conualesceret, ad sancti martiris limina propere tendit, et rem penes se gestam, et multorum testimonio approbatam, ad laudem dei ex ordine eius loci archiepiscopo et fratribus[1] exposuit.

DE UIRI CUIUSDAM PRESUMPCIONE, ET SUE PRESUMPTIONIS ULTIONE.

Contigit[2] quodam tempore ciuitatem, in qua sanctus martir requiescit, uehementer accendi, unde, ad muniendam ipsam ecclesiam, corpus martiris, pro muro, ignibus opponunt. Accessit autem quidam satis temerarius, et scrinium martiris cepit uerberare, minas inferendo, quod totum simul incendio relinquendum esset, nisi solitum monstraret beneficium, et ecclesiam cum domibus adhuc illesis suis orationibus custodiret. Ecclesia autem intacta permansit; set minister ille, nocte sequenti, graui oculorum dolore correptus, tandem in ipsa ecclesia sancti martiris precibus sanitatem recepit.

DE IUUENE PER MARTIRIS SUFFRAGIA A CAPTIUITATE LIBERATO.

Iuuenis[3] quidam, natione dacus, a sclauis detentus ducitur, et cum aliis captiuis in custodia strictissime mancipatur. Nam diebus cathenatus

[1] The Clergy of the Cathedral, twenty-four in number.

[2] Sect. 11. *S. Hom.* 158, *Mir.* xi; *Leg. Saga,* 112; *Heimskr.* 656; *Olafs Saga,* c. 273, referred by Snorri to the time of Magnus Barefoot, 1093–1103.

[3] Sect. 12, *caret S. Hom.* 158, *Mir.* xii; *Leg. Saga,* 113; *Heimskr.* 697; *Olafs Saga,* c. 275, where Snorri places it in the time of Sigurd the Crusader.

sine custode manebat. noctibus uero ipse hospitis filius, ut eum artius custodiret, uno pede secum boiis religatur. Set miser ille, pre anxietate dormire non ualens, quid supersit consilii secum sollicite tractat. Horret laborem, ueretur penas, dumque redemptionem desperat, tollit finem miserie. Quippe cum bis prius captus a parentibus redimeretur, tam tediosum quam sumptuosum eis de cetero fore autumatur. O quam misera est uita, cum mors optatur, quam infelicissimum uiuere, ubi mors creditur uite dominari! Unde preceps in ambiguum tendit, aut uti celeriter presentem mors excludat miseriam, aut felitius uiuere contingat. Necat hospitis filium; pedem abscidit, et, ad portandum recollectis cathenis, nemora petit. Set diluculo factum detegitur[1]; clamor extollitur, et nocens exquiritur. Duo canes soluuntur ad inuestigandum fugitiuos christianos mirabiliter edocti[2]; quorum sagacitas ilico uiam pandit querentibus, et latratus prodit latentem. Capitur miser, trahitur, ceditur uerberibus afflictus, morti fere addicitur; cui nequaquam pietas hominis constat suffragio, nec ulla miseratio pagane mentis ignara fuit presidio. Set tantum innata gentili nequitia mortem suspenderat debitam, cum auaritia naturalem excluderet zelum. In tantum etenim eum[3] illud infelicissimum possederat uitium, ut sperata iuuenis redemptio debitam filialis sanguinis uindictam secluderet. Inde domum trahitur, et cum aliis sexdecim christianis in carcere detruditur, et ceteris durius tam ligneis quam ferreis uinculis adartatur. Cuius prior miseria huius respectu umbra erat, et preterita mala futurorum sola nimirum creduntur presagia. Nullus enim adueniens pietatem ostendit iam debili, set quisque quasi dampnato penam inflixit misero: nil ei datum est, nil licuit, nisi ut in se cognosceret quicquid effrenata seuire possit impietas. Eius itaque in

[1] In *C.C.C.* detegitir.

[2] An early mention of the use of bloodhounds, cf. *Magnus Helga Saga*, c. 8. There King Magnus Barefoot tracks Magnus Erlingson by the same means. One of the dogs bays at the foot of a tree into which the fugitive had climbed, and is hit by him with a cudgel; whereupon the beast runs off, followed by the whole pack.

[3] The father of the youth who had been killed by the Dane.

tantum excreuit miseria, ut eisdem uinculis mancipati eius deffierent[1] miseriam, unde consilium ei proponunt, ut uouendo sancto se donet martiri olauo, et ei perpetuo in sua ecclesia, si se liberauerit, famuletur. Quod cum gratanter susciperet consilium, nocte sequenti, et inter socios dormienti, uisus est sibi homo statura mediocris astare, seque hiis placide affari. Cur, inquid, o miser, non surgis[2]? At ille: Domine mi, tu quis es? Respondit: Ego sum, inquid, ille olauus, quem tu uocasti. Et dixit: Domine, libenter surgerem, sed uno pede compede stringor, altero sum in boiis sociis meis concathenatus. At ille inquid, Surge cito, nil dubitans, quia liber es. Statim itaque, ut a sompno excitatus est, sociis sompnium retulit; quem statim si uerum sit quod uiderat hortantur[3] temptare. Et ilico, ut se erigere uisus est, sensit se omni uinculo liberatum. Quidam uero ex sociis hoc ei frustra asserunt factum, cum ostium uectibus et seris forinsecus firmissime muniatur. Quidam autem senex, qui in eadem tenebatur angustia, nichil hesitare de martiris suffragio ammonet, cuius euidenti iam soluitur beneficio, nec in uanum, inquid, tam celebre credendum est prestari miraculum, ut res tam clara, merito carens prospero successu, silentio magis quam laude digna appareat, ut scilicet martiris benefitio pena pocius crescat quam libertas. Expergiscere igitur, et palpa ostium, quod dum exieris de salute securus eris. Quod ita factum est, nam ostium apertum reperit, et iterum ad nemora tendit. Quid mora? Ut hoc reperiunt, solutis canibus ut prius inuestigant. Iacet miser, uidet uenientes; sed hominum uisus caligatur, et uis odora canum[4] naturali priuatur effectu, sicque iacentem per-

[1] Sic in *C.C.C.*

[2] In the *Miracles of S. John of Beverley*, cited above p. 67, note 4, a clerk lies chained in the lock-up at Cottingham. He prays to S. John, when forthwith 'Vir quasi esset pontifex' appears, and bids him 'ut assurgeret et abiret.' The clerk answers, 'se nequaquam hoc facere posse, utpote annulis ferreis per ambas tibias constrictus, et carcere firmiter obserato inclusus.' The figure tells him he is loose, and the clerk being now awake perceives 'unum de annulis a tibia ruptum esse.' *Miracula S. Joh. Episcopi*, p. 303, *ibid.* He is pursued at daybreak, but escapes to Beverley.

[3] hortantir in *C.C.C.*

[4] Virg. Aen. iv. 132.

transeunt, et de euentu tam mirantes quam dolentes domum tandem reuertuntur. Ad hec autem beati martiris crescit gloria meritorum; nam illum, quem de dolorum uoragine traxerat, ad litus uenientem nequaquam sinebat periclitari; a tortoribus etenim liberari ad penam[1] non sufficeret salutem, nisi liberatio curacionum etiam benefitio subueniret. Capud etenim eius adeo crudeli uerbere tundebatur, donec auris offitium prorsus amitteret. Predicto igitur modo liberatus, adiunctis sibi duobus christianis, diuturna captiuitate[2] fatigatis, marium subit pericula, et maturiore certans consilio, amota segnicie, simul cum sociis fugam succincte peragit. Ueniens itaque ad ecclesiam beati martiris, ad soluendas pro suscepto beneficio grates, gaudet se perfectam recepisse sanitatem. Uoti autem compos effectus, uotum persoluere mens ad modicum cepit refugere, donec, ad plenum subuerso consilio, ualidus iam et fortis effectus iter arripuit recedendi. Cumque una dieta[3] profectus, a quodam uenerabili uiro caritatis affectu hospitio esset receptus, uidit nocte tres uirgines uultu decoras, habitu nitidas, sibi astare, et se grauiter castigando inquirere quomodo temerario ausu sanctum, cuius tot uiderat uirtutum miracula, offendere non timeret, et sibi redemptum mancipium et uoto firmatum subtrahere presumeret. Uisu itaque expergefactus, mane consurgens hospiti suo rem totam penes se gestam ex ordine pandit, cuius ammonitu statim repedare cogitur. Hec miracula patulo produntur indici, cum, ad gloriam saluatoris, predictum iuuenem in ecclesia beati martiris, eius obsequiis perpetuo mancipatum, uideremus, et in membris eius ferramentorum uestigia conspiceremus.

DE MULIERE A MORBO EMPHILEMPTICO LIBERATA.

In urbe[4] illa, in qua nunc preciosus thesaurus reliquiarum beati

[1] penam in MS. *C.C.C.*; apparently a mistake for plenam.

[2] captiuiuitate in *C.C.C.*

[3] A day's journey.

[4] Sect. 13, *caret S. Hom.* 161, *Mir.* xiii; *Leg. Saga*, 116; *Flateyb.* II. 389, not in Snorri's *Olafs Saga.*

martiris olaui habetur, erat mulier quedam, diuturna emphilemptici morbi uexatione grauata, que cuidam iuueni, huius morbi ignaro, nuptiis traditur. Celebratis igitur omnibus, que de more nuptiarum ordo petebat, nocte quadam illis iacentibus, infirmitas reuertitur, et elisa spiritu uolutabatur spumans; corpus autem, quasi exanime factum, in horribilem, mutato colore, conuertitur formam. Quod dum maritus cognosceret, infelicissimum se clamat, quem adeo irremediabili malo, peccatis exigentibus, tam indissolubiliter contigit sociari. Querit tamen ex quo contigisset, uel si ullum medicamentorum quandoque expetisset. At illa, singulis se fere mensibus ita torqueri, nec quicquam medicorum sibi fatetur conferre prudentiam. Cuius dolor dum ex uultus mutatione proditur, ex mariti conpassione, non minus quam propria infirmitate mulier torquetur. In his posita angustiis gloriosam uirginem, misericordie scilicet matrem, et sanctum martirem olauum iugi prece interpellabat, ut suos dolores ope leuaminis terminaret. Conuento itaque sacerdote suo, que fragilis caro sucgesserat confessa est: set et propositis sue miserie causis de remedio querit consilium. Hic[1] autem diuino instinctu ad euangelium conuersus, ex uerbis dominicis profert: Hoc genus morborum non posse eici nisi oratione et ieiunio[2]. His autem ammonita uerbis, simul cum marito ad ecclesiam beati martiris ambo conueniunt, et, allatis copiosis luminaribus, illius sacre noctis excubias, cum aliis diuersis inualitudinibus oppressis, tota deuotione ieiuni peregerunt. Erat namque die sequenti ipsius martiris uotiua solempnitas. Celebrato itaque a fratribus nocturnali offitio, uti solempnitati competebat, qua gloriosus christi athleta martirio coronatus est, domum reuertitur, ex temporis successus approbatione perfectam sospitatem consecuta. Nam cum tanta esset mali uehementia, ut nullo fere a iuuentute mense omisso uexaretur, post perceptam gratiam nec etiam uisitatio quandoque inde sentitur. Quibus postmodum, ex percepto benefitio, tanta accresscit deuocio, ut singulis annis, eadem

[1] Hinc in *C.C.C.*

[2] S. Matthew xvii. 21.

martiris uigilia, qua sanitatem recuperari gaudebat, ieiuni prorsus excubiis et elemosinis deo studiosissime famulentur.

QUALITER INCENDIUM AD IMAGINIS SUE OPPOSITIONEM SIT EXTINCTUM.

In[1] ciuitate quadam ruscie, que holmgarder[2] appellatur, contigit tale incendium subito euenisse, ut tocius urbis uastatio uideretur imminere. Cuius habitatores nimirum timore resoluti ad quendam latinum sacerdotem[3], nomine Stephanum, qui in ecclesia sancti olaui ibidem ministrabat, cateruatim confluunt, ut in tanta necessitate experiantur beati martiris merita, et certis probentur indiciis que de ipso, fama referente, didicerant. Sacerdos autem haut segnis eorum fauet uoluntati, ymaginem eius arripit, brachiis suis ignibus opposuit; set nec ignis ulterius transgreditur, et pars relicta ciuitatis ab incendio liberatur.

Illud[4] etiam relatione dignum est, quod in quadam prouintia contigit, que Thelemarch[5] uocatur. Die etenim quadam, dum incole illius regionis in multitudine conuenissent, ut de ecclesia in honore beati martiris fabricanda tractarent, et lapides, qui domari possent, non inuenirent, ad opus ligneum propositum conuertunt. Die autem, qua is qui ad opus propositum quasi magister adducebatur, sepe frustratus, iter reuer-

[1] Sect. 14. *S.* In *Hom.* 162, *Mir.* xiv; *Leg. Saga*, 117; *Flateyb.* II. 390: not in Snorri's *Olafs Saga*.

[2] MS. *C.C.C.* reads holingarder. In *Hom.* holmgarðr = Novgorod. See Cleasby's *Icelandic Dict.* In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Scandinavians erected castles or strongholds (gardar) among the Slavonians, east of the Baltic, and this was one of them. Cf. *Olafs Saga*, c. 65. According to Munch, there is abundant testimony to show that, already in the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ, the Russians and Scandinavians had nearly the same speech. In fact, it would almost seem that the dwellers on both sides of the Baltic were in the earliest times one people.—Munch, *Norske Folks Historie*, I. 39.

[3] sacerdos latinus, rendered in *Homily* by 'a clerk and a teacher.'

[4] Sect. 15, *caret S.* In *Hom.* 163, *Mir.* xv; *Leg. Saga*, 120; *Flateyb.* II. 390; not in Snorri's *Olafs Saga*.

[5] Þelemarch in *C.C.C.*

tendi suscepisset, montis uicini latera, uirtute diuina, inpetu mirabili sunt precisa, ubi postmodum lapides ad opus idoneos sufficienter colligunt, et laborem edificii deuotissime subeunt.

In[1] quadam etiam prouintia, ciuitati uicina, contigit quendam infantulum a parentibus oberrasse, qui, inter conuiuas constituti, ad querendum puerum ab eis auxilium expetunt. Peragratis itaque omnibus eiusdem uille finibus, de infante nichil reperiunt; nec labori cedentes secunda die iterum querunt. Cumque fatigati nullum inde uestigium reperissent, dolentes pariter reuertuntur, et facta inuocatione ad sanctum olauum, collectam faciunt secundum singulorum facultates, et, mittentes ad ecclesiam sancti martiris, tercio sub eius obtentu querere temptant. Statimque exeuntes, in quodam loco prope domum, quem prius satis perlustrasse uidebantur, dormientem inueniunt, et alacres facti domum reuertuntur, super inuento, quem prius perditum defleuerant, domini laudantes magnalia[2], qui pro agonista suo tot dignabatur operari miracula.

DE IUUENE A DOMINIO DIABOLI LIBERATO.

Breuiter[3] quedam perstrinximus, que pro martire suo dominus operatur benefitia, set inter cetera non minimum uidetur, quod iam nunc mentes pulsat fidelium. Sicut enim fidelis cuiuslibet anima corpore constat ex natura prestantior, ita eius mors grauior, et curatio preciosior estimanda. Inimicus etenim humani generis, quod in paradiso egit, hoc cotidie nobiscum agere non desinit. Profectus namque singulorum mentibus molitur euellere, et ficta sue promissionis blandimenta inferre. Quod enim deus minatur leuigat, et ad credendum, quod falso promittit, inuitat; honores pollicetur temporales, et supplicia leuigat, que deus minatur eterna. Hac elationis peste primus seductus est parens, qua

[1] Sect. 16, *caret S.* *Hom.* 163, *Mir.* xvi; *Leg. Saga*, 121; *Flateyb.* II. 391; not in Snorri's *Olafs Saga.*

[2] Wonderful works: Ducange.

[3] Sect. 17, *caret S.* In *Hom.* 164, *Mir.* xvii; *Flateyb.* II. 391; *Leg. Saga*, 122; not in Snorri's *Olafs Saga.*

nunc cotidie posteros sauciat incautos. Hoc usus est iaculo, dum quendam adeo praue suggestionis ueneno infecerat, ut, creatoris precepti oblitus, spiritum superbie sequeretur deceptus. Erat namque infelix iste de prouintia, que dicitur insula exterior[1], quem antiquus hostis tanta cecitate percusserat, ut cupiditate terrenorum futura non terrerent supplitia. Breuis quidem pro spe honoris, ditioni subicitur eterne mortis, et diaboli mancipium dono effectus, dum suum apostatando negat creatorem, libertatem filiorum dei priuatur. Cumque preceps ad queque lubrica malignoso traheretur instinctu, et quasi securus de preda gloriaretur inimicus, occurrit beati martiris natalis dies. Cumque turbe cateruatim ad eius ecclesiam more confluerent, affuit et iste, ut per effrenatam lasciuiam uisus illiciti ad noxias concupiscentias traheretur exterius, tanto fieret inimico obligatior, quanto eius suggestioni consentiendo succumberet. Uerum dominus, omnium uolens salutem, ouis moribunde tanto amplius misertus est, quanto grauius deceptam nouerat. Nam cum beati martiris olaui corpus gloriosum in processione extra ecclesiam portaretur, cepit predictus de gloria martiris apud se pensare, et suam miseriam mente tractare. Proponit gloriam perditam, et terrores suscepte dampnationis repplicat sollicitus. Tanta namque ex martiris salutifera presentia mentem eius afflauerat gratia, ut, abstracto impietatis uelamine, mens emollita ex compunctionis fletu foris ostenderet afflicta, quod intus pateretur ex culpa. Cumque feretrum de loco, quo steterat, ad reportandum leuaretur, eidem se loco contulit, quo martiris corpus quieuisse conspexerat, et mente prostratus sanctum martirem uberrimis cepit interpellare gemitibus, ut dampnationis quo tenebatur uinculo suis mereretur precibus absolui. Exauditus[2] itaque martiris precibus, quasi de obliuionis morte suscitatur, et amissum anime uigorem paulisper mente colligens, humiliatus didicit quid elatus amiserat. Uulnus tamen adultere mentis aperire uerebatur, et, confusus pudore,

[1] Ytröy or Yttri-ey, near the head of the Trondhjem-fiord.
[2] Sic *C.C.C.* for *exauditis.*

confessionis remedia differt adhibere. Uerum martiris presidio limo necesse fuit extrahi, quo tenebatur infixus, ne abrupta uitiorum profunditas iterum deuoraret incautum, quem martiris miseracio inferni faucibus extraxerat captiuatum. Diuina itaque prouidentia langore corripitur grauissimo, nec inde prius conualuit, donec scelus confessione reuelasset, et creatoris iniuriam digna satisfactione diluisset. Set nec mora, anima saluatus, corporis sui uires resumit gauisus, ut corporis doceret egritudo quo anima teneretur uinculo. Inde nimirum curatio processit unde primum langor accessit. Nam sicut anime uinculo corpus tenebatur afflictum, ita eius solutione constat esse saluatum, et tanto se deuotius ad bene agendum postmodum erexit, quanto se uilius deiectum prius fore cognouit.

DE DUOBUS CECIS, ET MUTO UNO, IN DIE NATALIS SANCTI OLAUI SANITATI RESTITUTIS.

Anno[1] igitur, quo beati martiris olaui basilica nouo principatus et pallii uestitur honore, inter crebras populorum confluentias assunt ex longinquo tres debiles, uaria egritudine laborantes. Quo circa[2] uenientes ad ecclesiam beati martiris, ipsius obtentu sperantes ea die se gratiam sospitatis potissimum impetrare, quo idem martir, carnis iura pro christo resoluens, gaudium suscepit eternaliter permansurum. Erat namque inter eos quidam cecus, qui in ipsa martiris uigilia uisionis leticia meruit consolari. Die quoque sequenti, cum processionis offitia solempniter agerentur, et in cimiterio feretrum ex more deponeretur, mutus quidam locutionis recepit gratiam, et diu detenta lingue offitia in laudem saluatoris gaudens laxauit. Ad hec autem mulier quedam,

[1] Sect. 18. *S.* It was the year 1152. See Introduction, p. 49, note 1. This miracle is printed in *Hom.* 165, *Mir.* xviii; but there was a lacuna in the *Hom.* MS. which has been filled up by the editor, Professor Unger, from the *Leg. Saga*, 123; *Heimskr.* 631; *Olafs Saga*, 271. Snorri makes these miracles to have occurred in Olaf Kyrre's time, and on the consecration day of Christ Church, 1077; the reason being that the account above did not tally with *Geisli.*

[2] qui pariter venientes *S.*

a sucorum finibus longe profecta, ad limina sancti martiris, orationum causa, proficisci decreuit, qui, licet in itinere tam cecitatis quam laboris multa pateretur incomoda, fide tamen robusta, et spe confortata, iter compleuit aggressum. Que cum natalis[1] ipsius die gloriosam ingrederetur basilicam, et sacro sancta missarum celebrarentur offitia, uisionis optate leticiam, quam semper ab annis iam tredecim amiserat, meruit recipere.

DE CUIUSDAM MUTI CURATIONE.

Waringus[2] quidam in ruscia seruum emerat, bone indolis iuuenem, set mutum. Qui cum nichil de se ipse profiteri posset, cuius gentis esset ignorabatur. Ars tamen, qua erat instructus, inter waringos cum conuersatum fuisse prodebat: nam arma, quibus illi soli utuntur, fabricare nouerat. Hic, cum diu ex uenditione diuersa probasset dominia[3], ad mercatorem postmodum deuenit, qui ei pietatis intuitu iugum laxauit seruile. Hic, optata[4] libertate potitus, in ciuitatem deuenit, que holmgarder[5] appellatur, et in domo cuiusdam religiose matrone hospitalitatis gratiâ susceptus, mansit per dies aliquot. Mulier autem, in beati martiris olaui honore existens sedula, ad singulas horas in eius ecclesia orationibus incumbebat[6]. Nocturni igitur temporis hora uisus est a se uideri beatus martir olauus, precipiens sibi ut prefatum secum

[1] natatalis by error in *C.C.C.*

[2] Sect. 19. *S.* Lacuna in *Hom.*; *Leg. Saga*, c. 124; *Fornmanna Sögur*, V. 221; not in Snorri or *Flateyb.* The translator into Old Norse in the Legendary Saga of S. Olaf had taken 'Varingus' to mean Norseman—a meaning to be found *passim* in *Þiðreks Saga*, e.g. 82: 'Velent er Væringjar kalla Völund.' The Baltic is called by an Arabian writer Al-Bîruni, 'the Varangian Sea.' These Varangians are perhaps best known to the English reader from Walter Scott's novel, *Count Robert of Paris.* They were not all Northmen, but of various nationalities, e. g. Englishmen, who had been driven from home by the Norman Conquest. The etymology of the word is obscure. Some think it = 'væringr' = 'confederate,' while others derive it from 'væri' = 'shelter;' the Northmen being 'metoeci' in Russia and the East. We learn from the above that they wore peculiarly fashioned armour.

[3] dominica *S.*

[4] optate in *C.C.C.*

[5] Holingarder in *C.C.C.*

[6] S. Luke xi. 26.

puerum ad ecclesiam ducat; quod statim ad matutinales horas properans exequitur. Cumque in ecclesiam simul uenirent, puer, haut diu moratus, sopore resoluitur, et qui, mulieri prius apparens, curandum ad ecclesiam adduci precepit, uultu et habitu probatur postmodum, diuina fauente gratia, curationem puero apparens contulisse.

DE CURATIONE REGIS NOREWAGIE.

Magno[1] post martiris exaltationem euoluto tempore, in loco ubi sanguinis effusione ad uite brauium[2] felici transiuit compendio, in honore ipsius fabricata est ecclesia[3]. Aduenientc autem episcopo, ut ecclesiam dedicaret, contigit regem in eadem prouintia eo tempore grauiter languescere. Genu namque ipsius tanto apostematis[4] dolore affligitur, ut totum crus cum tybia intolerabili tumore rigidum permaneret. Infirmitate ergo aggrauante, et ad dedicationem deuotione incitante, defertur ad nauem, et flumine prope ecclesiam ducitur. Deinde a ministris uehiculo deductus, in ecclesia est locatus. Offitio autem more sollempni completo, suggestum est regi de lapide super quem beatus martir occubuit, qui adhuc sanguine notatur aspersus, cuius summitas ab ipso altari foras prominebat. Accedens autem rex, genu et cetera dolentia loca lapidi apposuit. Nec mora, tanta ilico diuine pietatis ubertas affuit, ut eodem uespere tumor sedaretur,

[1] Sect. 20. *S.*, but only first line, Contigit etiam in loco, qui Sticlastather dicitur . . . Given however in *Hom.* 167, *Mir.* xx; and *Leg. Saga*, c. 125. Storm's edition of the fragments of the Latin legend ends here, as he was not aware of the existence of the *C.C.C.* MS. From this point the *C.C.C.* MS. of the original legend supplies what was supposed to be entirely lost in Latin.

[2] i. e. brabeum = βραβεῖον, the prize.

[3] This church is most likely the stone edifice still standing at Stikklestad where Olaf fell, near the head of the Trondhjem-fiord. At the entrance gate is a round Saxon arch with fillet ornaments, similar to those on the round arches in the transept of Trondhjem Cathedral. See Laing's *Norway*, p. 66.

[4] Apostema = a kind of carbuncle : Ducange.

et propulso dolore, ad quelibet offitia membrorum agilitate, ac si lesionem non sensisset, promtus haberetur[1].

DE DUABUS MULIERIBUS A CONTRACTIONE MENBRORUM LIBERATIS.

Eodem[1] eciam tempore puella quedam paruula, ab infantia deformiter contracta, ab ecclesia sana egreditur. Item anno euoluto, in festo sancti olaui, consimilis gratie largitatem altèra puella promeruit; neruis etenim arentibus, amplius quam quinquennio talos cum clunibus iunctos habuerat. Hec piorum amminiculo ante ostium chori deuecta est, et cum sanctissimum corpus ad processionem leuaretur, mirabili uirtute, ita ut neruorum stridor in extensione audiretur, sanata est.

Eodem[2] anno, in loco qui sticlastader appellatur, aput beati martiris memoriam, mulier quedam uisum recepit, cuius pupilla ab alio infante in pueritia cultelli puncto uiolata est, et ex illius dolore ad cecitatem uterque grauatur oculus, set, martiris interuentu detersa cecitate, pristinum lumen gaudet se recepisse.

DE MERCATORE A CONFRACTIONE TIBIE SANATO.

Mercator quidam, in yslandia hiemans, octaua ab epiphania die in glaciem euersus cecidit, et os ipsum tybie in tres partes confregit, quod nulla arte per decem ebdomadas solidari poterat: uerum in sabbato palmarum cernens membrum iam liuidum, et tabe soluendum, uehementer ingemuit, et intercessionem beati Olaui crebris implorat gemitibus, uouens se infra tres annos eius uisitaturum ecclesiam, et eius semper uigilia in

[1] Here (p. 168, 15) ends the Old-Norse Homily Book, in order, as the writer says, that the auditors may not grow weary; although Jesus has wrought, and is working, many other miracles by the hand of S. Olaf. Those other miracles here for the first time see the light.

[2] This miracle is to be found in the *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, but mixed up with the miracle of the blind woman who was cured in the year the pallium was brought to Nidaros. (Sect. 18. *S.*)

pane et aqua ieiunaturum, si eius patrocinium in curationem sentiret. Quo facto, placidiori carpitur sopore, et mane pedem mouere et desuper stare poterat. Sequenti uero dominica, id est die pasce, solido gressu incedebat.

Item uenerunt duo fratres de ciuitate galliarum, que carnotis[1] dicitur, quorum unus clericus, alter uero laicus erat[2]. Qui cum ab hereditate paterna expulsi essent, nimirum nimio furore commoti, matrem et fratrem paruulum, cum milite qui eam duxerat, et eos de hereditate expulerat, incendio peremerunt: qua de causa penitentia ducti, ferro ligati sunt, et a patria exulati. Deuote autem penitentiam agentes, ierosolimam usque uenerunt, ibique ad sepulchrum domini ferrum, quo laicus frater in brachio ligatus fuerat, abruptum est. Set, quia nondum requies dabatur post laborem, totum pene christianum orbem absolutionis gratia peragrarunt. Uenerunt itaque ad ecclesiam beati olaui; predictus frater[3] reliquo ferro[4], quo circa lumbos astrictus uenerat, tertia quadragesime dominica ante altare absolutus est.

[1] The Carnutes occupied the territory on the Eure, between Paris and Le Mans, the capital of which is Chartres.

[2] A like legend is told of an Englishman in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, II. 182 (ed. Unger), and *Fornmanna Sögur*, V. 224.

[3] fratrem in *C. C. C.*

[4] In Appendix to Ketell's *Miracles of S. John of Beverley*, which Appendix, according to Canon Raine, must have been written between A.D. 1170–1180—a like miracle was wrought in the church of Beverley. There it is a Frenchman and a fratricide, who, after visiting S. Andrews in Scotland as a penitent, has arrived at Beverley. He has been wandering about for a whole year. Whilst in the church, an iron girdle, which he wore round his middle as a penance, burst asunder. The writer heard the crack. The penitent says he was ordered to wear it for slaying his brother. In our legend, we observe, there are two French fratricides, one a clerk, the other a layman. They were matricides as well. Their journey of penance, moreover, had extended to Jerusalem, and after that up to the church of S. Olaf at Nidaros. The Archbishop, however, does not include this miracle in the number of those which had occurred during recent times. These begin in the next section. Had this traditional miracle, thus recorded in the Archbishop's compilations, been transferred from John of Beverley to S. Olaf? Cf. *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. i. p. 308 (Rolls Series, 71; ed. Raine).

QUALITER HORREUM CUIUSDAM RUSTICI A UICINO IGNE ILLESUM SERUABATUR[1].

Preterea, licet tediosa nonnuncquam uideatur prolixa narratio, et sermo incultus oneret audientem, uestre tamen deuotionis studio confisi, quedam ex his, que nuper acta cognouimus, caritati uestre breuiter intimare curabimus. In prouintia igitur que morre[2] dicitur, non longe a beati olaui basilica, horreum suum quidam rusticus annona impleuerat, cuius parietes de ramis[3] frondosis erant contexti. Set quoniam messis copiam horrei non capiebat angustia, iuxta horrei parietem de reliqua segete adeo contiguum locauit congestum, ut uix interesset cubitalis distantia. Accidit autem ut seges horreis uicina de subito cremaretur incendio, et flantibus uentis in parietes siccis frondibus consertos flamma uehementer fundebatur. Quod uidens homo, in ipso dampnoso casu suffragium sancti olaui implorat, addens ut, siqua de incendio saluarentur, medietatem omnium ad ecclesiam beati Olaui se redditurum. Quo dicto, repulsa est flamma, nec segeti, nec horrei parietibus, ullam inferens lesionem. Quod autem uestre caritati referimus uicinorum attestatione didicimus, et ex pecunie redditione quam suscepimus euidenter agnouimus[4].

Ad hec, quodam die tempestate exorta, nauis quedam cuidam appulsa est promontorio, ubi scabrum latus, instar muri proferens, arduum et inuium solis dabat auibus accessum. Naute igitur, pelagi fragore et scopuli prominentia pariter stupefacti, sanctum olauum intimis

[1] Hitherto the author has related traditionary miracles, now, relying on their devotion, he will recount recent ones, 'quae nuper,' etc., at the risk of being tedious to the hearers.

[2] Now Nordmöre, so called from its proximity to the coast: from *mar*, the sea; cf. Munch, *Historisk-geographisk Beskrivelse over Norge*, 1849. In the MS. it is plainly written and without contraction, Morre, which is an error of the copyist.

[3] A primitive barn.

[4] The writer, Eystein, second Archbishop of Nidaros or Trondhjem, 1161–1188, can testify from personal knowledge to the truth of the miracle.

flagitabant gemitibus, quo eos in horrendo mortis audiret confinio. Set dicto uelotius quam mille hominum impulsu, contra rabiem tempestatis desperata reducitur nauis, portumque subeuntes optatum, benefitii martiris non immemores, ad fabricam ecclesie ipsius, nobis suscipientibus[1], predictam nauem gratanter donauerunt.

DE DUOBUS PUERIS A CAPTIUITATE LIBERATIS.

In prouincia que angar[2] nuccupatur[3] erat uir quidam, genere non infimus, et opibus diues. Hic suorum bonorum successores tres habebat filios, quorum iunior in paganorum discursu captiuus ducebatur. Uerum, licet terrarum spaciis, ut animis, plurimum disiuncti essent, pro redemptione tamen captiuorum tanta erat commeantium frequentia, ut patris diuitias perfecte cognosceret[4], unde redemptionem essent[5] marcarum constituunt. Quod audiens senex, quicquid de puero fiat, pagano bona sua persoluere prorsus abnegat. Fide itaque fultus, et spe profitiens, ad beati olaui suffragia conuertitur, cuius ministerio cum

[1] The writer is engaged in building Trondhjem Cathedral: see Introduction. How much of it was actually built by him seems doubtful. According to Nicolaysen (*Norske Fornlevninger*, p. 579), he commenced the Cathedral 1161, and built the transept and also the Chapter House (Sacristy), where he was buried, 1188. The Cathedral was 325 feet long, and the west front was 124 feet wide. There were fires in 1328, 1432, 1557; after which last the west end was abandoned and fell into ruin, in which state it now appears. The best authority is Professor Munch's *Trondhjems Domkirke*. See above, p. 61.

[2] 'Angar' is plainly written in MS. without contraction. In the county (*fylki*) of Orkedal, a little south of Trondhjem, was a place called Hangrar or Angrar, with a church, mentioned in Snorri's *Olafs Saga*; cf. Munch, *Hist.-geogr. Beskr.* p. 82.

[3] Sic in *C.C.C.*

[4] An error of the scribe for cognoscerent.

[5] Sic in *C.C.C.* without any contraction. In the MS. before the copyist, or at all events in the Archbishop's original, it was probably XL (= forty), which the writer mistook for the contracted form of 'essent' or 'esset,' cf. p. 112, l. 8 below. Forty marks was the price of a man in Norway in the twelfth century.

filiis et tota domo sua deuotissime deditus, ex predicta prouintia annuam collectam suscipere, et ad ecclesiam beati olaui singulis annis mittere curabat. Unde ipsi martiri, de meritis securus, filium commendat, aureum anulum magni ponderis ad eius ecclesiam, quasi arram maiorum, promittens, si eius benefitio amissi pignoris mereretur optata susceptione potiri. Cumque eodem tempore puer in custodia paganorum cum quodam alio christiano teneretur, uidit in sompnis quendam uultu decorum et statura mediocrem stare, seque de status sui qualitate sollicitantem. Cui cum placita respondisset, adiecit de nomine apparentis sciscitari. At ille: Olauus, inquit, uocor, uestre prouintie incola, domusque paterne assiduus[1] hospes; quamobrem scire te uolo redemptionem pro te iam datam. Unde nocte illa, que precedit quintam feriam parasceue, dominium euades tirannicum, nostrumque ad propria obtinebis ducatum. Expergefactus autem puer a sompno uisionem recolit, eamque[2] sue captiuitatis socio refert, et ad condictum tempus de promisso manet sollicitus. Ueniente autem prefixa nocte, compedibus uinculati, et cathenis strepentibus onusti, nullo paganorum expergiscente, abcedunt pariter. Cumque moles cathenarum illos longius abire uetaret, quodam loco domibus uicino, ne luce ueniente proderentur, latitauerunt. Mane autem facto, gens perfida queque perlustrat latibula. Uerum diuino protecti munimine, nec ipsa curiositate querentium, nec compedum sonitu, dum frangere temptarent, produntur. His itaque animati beneficiis, ad fugam capiendam de diuina misericordia redduntur certiores. Unde, cathenis abiectis, fines paganorum solis percurrunt noctibus, mane semper uicino tutiora captantes latibula, quibus indefessas uires uoluntas copiose ministrat, metus redeundi torporem tollebat, donec martiris interuentu amicis et cognatis nutu diuino redduntur incolumes.

[1] assidus in *C.C.C.*

[2] aeamque in *C.C.C.*

ITEM DE DUOBUS PUERIS A UORAGINE MARIS PER MERITA BEATI OLAUI MIRABILITER EREPTIS.

Illud quoque memorandum quod in prouintia europa trans montes australes[1] nuper euenisse multorum assertione cognouimus. Pueri in quodam flumine ludentes, nauiculam forte repertam intrabant, que silenter aquarum fluentia ad quandam[2] uoraginem deducta est, ubi de rupe horrendo precipitio flumen labitur. Uidentes autem pueri uicinam instare mortem, quantum cum lacrimis poterant sanctum inuocabant olauum, et statim in ipsa uoragine, ubi artiori sinu impetuosius ad labendum aqua colligitur, ad quendam lapidem ex medio flumine prominentem, dei miseratione, applicant. Nauicula autem in precipitium tendente, predicto lapidi pueri pariter conserti adherent. Pater uero puerorum tota nocte eorum prestolabatur aduentum, ignorans filiorum euentum. Mane autem facto, ad querendum eos cum uicinis et amicis ad ripam fluminis, ubi eos ludentes dimiserat, proficiscitur. Quos cum uideret in petra stantes, et lacrimabiliter patrem acclamantes, acriori cruciatur dolore, quod per penam[3] dilata mors uidebatur, non amota, quasi in fatum concite raperentur. Set quoniam loci difficultas et intemptabilis aquarum uorago opem uetabat humanam. uigiliis et labore fatigati qui conuenerant, animas eorum deo commendantes, domos repetunt. Patre uero nocte sequenti paulisper soporante, apparuit quidam uultu uenus-

[1] Looking at the context, 'trans montes australes' signifies in Norwegian phrase, 'South of the Southern mountains' (Söndenfjelds), i.e. south of the Dovrefjeld, in Oslo or Hamar-Stift. But 'Europa,' which is written quite plainly and not contracted, is a puzzle. Either it is a mistake of the copyist for some local name in Norway, or the alternative, but not very probable supposition, regard being had to the context, is, that this miracle took place in a province of Europe beyond the Southern mountains, i.e. the Alps. In that case the father and son had a very long distance to go, if 'limina beati martiris olaui' refers to the Cathedral of Trondhjem. Pilgrims, however, to S. James of Compostella used to travel even further; and we have, p. 102, two persons from Galicia in Spain travelling up to S. Olaf's shrine at Trondhjem, and from France, p. 96.

[2] In *C. C. C.* quadam by error.

[3] Possibly a mistake of the scribe for *petram*.

tus, de nomine requisitus olauum se nominans, et brachia in modum crucis conserta proferens, Hoc, inquit, modo figurato ingenio, quos defles filii ad littus ducentur. Ecce enim cito ueniet qui eos liberabit. Pater autem uisionem recolens cuique uenienti libenter referebat. Quod cum quidam adueniens audiret, artificum[1] professus opus aggreditur; perfectaque machina ad lapidem usque concito pulsu, multorum conamine in modum pontis extenditur, in quo repentes pueri ad desideratos parentum pertingunt amplexus. Pater uero, et unus puerorum, ad limina beati martiris olaui ad gratias referendas continuo pergunt, ubi hec circa se acta uicinorum attestatione referebant.

QUALITER DIACONUS QUIDAM A MORBI DOLORE, ET PECCATI FOMITE, SIT LIBERATUS.

Diaconus quidam, natione dacus, ad ciuitatem beati olaui ueniens, in carnis fragilitatem lapsus multos filios generauit. Quanto numerus filiorum succreuit, eo maiori deprimitur inopia. Ad se itaque, ex pupillorum penuria, tandem reuersus, consilium nostrum requirens, se monachum fuisse profitetur, et susceptis salutaribus monitis ad habitum religionis spondet reuersionem. Elabente autem paulisper tempore, que concepta erat compunctionis scintilla nociuo suffocatur amore, cumque insolubiliter pristina teneretur uoluptate, ex diuina ultione tumore uirilium intolerabiliter percutitur. Uagus itaque, et pre nimio dolore errabundus effectus, siquando sinebatur, ante altare beati olaui, licet indignus, et in peccato perdurans, anxius prosternitur. Quo dum impenitens sepius procumbere non timeret, sopore tandem resoluitur. Et ecce quidam in specie medici ueniens, de nomine sciscitatus, eundem quem uocauerat olauum se esse asserens, dolentem neruum transfixit cauterio. Expergefactus itaque uisionis horrore membrum, quod ferro sompniauerat tactum, ignito sensit dolore respersum. Exinde calidum

[1] Sic in *C.C.C.*

requirit balneum, ut lenium saltem aquarum fomento tolerabilior fieret mali uehementia. Quo dum resideret, iuxta uentrem, ubi ferrum uidebatur transfixum, solutus decidit neruus, cum quo et facultas recessit peccandi. Quod autem caritati uestre ex hoc referimus, aduocatis ecclesie nostre senioribus, ipsi perspeximus.

Duo fratres[1] hyspani ex partibus galitie uenerunt; qui, cum uitricum armis impetissent, matrem se obitientem gladio necauerunt, insuper et uirum fugientem, cum[2] monasterio, in quo susceptus est, et quinque monachis, incendio tradiderunt; unde ferro et grauissima penitentia astricti uniuersos fidelium peragrant fines. His tandem, fama ducente, remotissimis appulsi regionibus, iunior fratrum, qui ex brachii tumore et ferri edacitate morti uidebatur proximus, ante altare beati olaui quadam nocte dominica, in ipsis matutinis, uinculo pariter et dolore liberatur.

Item hieme sequenti iuuenis quidam, qui diu mutus extiterat, loquelam recepit.

Erat preterea in uicinio ciuitatis rusticus quidam, nomine Thordus, dictus norwaice inair[3]. Huic erat filius multum dilectus, quia unicus erat, tamen contractus genibus, ita quod cruribus pedes uiderentur coniuncti. Cumque pater ex puerili dolore uehementer angeretur, ad ecclesiam beati martiris in eius uigilia eum detulit. At cum iuxta patrem ipse puer soporaretur, in sompnis uisus est sibi quidam uir tanto conamine plicatos artus extendere, quatenus, ut mitius ageret, clamare cogeretur. Expergefactus autem a sompno sanus surrexit.

[1] This miracle resembles Miracle No. 2, on page 96 above.

[2] 'in' inserted in *C. C. C.* after 'cum' by error.

[3] Þordus, MS. Einar is a common Norse name; so is Þórðr (Thordus); being one of the many proper names derived from the name of the God of Thunder. The meaning of the text is not clear. In the MS. the second proper name might equally well be read 'mair.' May this have been an error of the scribe for 'maer,' Old N. 'mær'= 'maiden'—a nickname which occurs in Scandinavia? Malcolm, King of Scotland, 1153, went by this name; Hector Boethius, *Historia Scotorum*, Book XIII. c. 1.

Item, in prouintia, que sogna[1] appellatur, contigit domum cuiusdam rustici, que stupata[2] dicitur, tanta ignis uehementia accendi, ut per fenestram superius necnon et per ostium flamma funderetur. Quod uidens rusticus, ex subito casu mente consternatur, donatque beato olauo quintam domorum partem, si eas suo interuentu ab incendio liberaret. Quo facto, confert se ad alias domos et res liberandas. Set inter agendum miratur cur tardius solito estuantis incendii opus appareat; accedit ad ostium, aperit et inspicit, set ita extinctum reperit ignem, ac si tota domus aqua fuisset perfusa. Nec mora, conuocat uicinos, domos appreciantur, et partem substantie que martirem contigit, nobis bergas[3] existentibus, transmisit.

Adhuc quodam tempore, regnante augustino[4] rege, regina quedam habebatur suspecta, quod corpus martiris furto in daciam detulisset. Uisum est itaque regi et omnibus, quod huius rei experimentum caperetur; unde scrinium, in quo sanctissimum corpus iacet, aperiunt. Quo aperto, tanta suauitatis fraglantia totam perfudit ecclesiam, ut ab omnibus, qui illius dulcedinis fuerunt participes, perfecte cognosceretur celestis fuisse, que sentita est, non terrena, suauitas.

Quidam uero mutus, qui elemosinam nostram per sex annos ex more susceperat, in die resurrectionis domini loquelam recepit.

[1] Sogna, now Sogn, a Fogderi in Bergen-Stift in North Bergenhuus Amt.

[2] Stupata, from stupa or stuba, 'a bath-room.' The word stupata is not to be found in Ducange. But see *ibid.* stupa, or stuba = 'vaporarium, hypocaustum.' *Statutt. Massil. S.* c. 13: 'Ne aliquis recipiat in dictis stupis vel balneis ad balneandum vel stupendam Judaeam vel Judaeum nisi die Veneris.' Cf. Germ. Stube = 'a bathing-room with a stove;' Icel. Stofa or Baðstofa. The common adjunct of houses in Norway in those days.

[3] By a mistake of the scribe for 'bergis.' The Archbishop was then staying at Bergen.

[4] Augustinus: either Eystein Magnusson (1103–1123), or Eystein Haraldson (1142–1157).

ITEM TRACTATUS AUGUSTINI NOREWAGENSIS EPISCOPI DE MIRACULIS BEATI OLAUI[1].

Perlectis his, que de uita et miraculis beati olaui nobis antiquitas commendauit, congruum estimamus a nobis quoque, qui eius presentialiter nouis passim illustramur miraculis, que ipsi uidimus, aut ueratium uirorum testimoniis uirtuose ad eius gloriam adeo facta probauimus, futuris generationibus memoranda litteris assignari. Uerum, sicut caritatis debito quibusque in afflictione positis compati iubemur[2], ita nimirum ab egritudine releuatis, et de adepta salute gaudentibus, congaudere tenemur. Set quoniam unico[3] matris sue nemo sibi proximior est, si aliis collata sanitatum benefitia, caritatis intuitu, extollere iubemur[4], multo magis, que, per dei gratiam, de ipsius martiris benefitiis ad nostras necessitudines redundasse cognoscimus, primum et precipua laude, cum gratiarum actione, tenemur exsoluere. Ego itaque augustinus, per uoluntatem dei in ecclesia beati martiris olaui episcopalem ad tempus sollicitudinem gerens, cum a magistro, qui operariis ecclesie preest, pro quibusdam in opere disponendis super muri fastigium euocarer, pons[5] in quo lapides trahebantur, multitudinis, que nos sequebatur, molem non ferens, confractus cecidit. Peccatis autem exigentibus ut uite et iniuncte sollicitudinis cautior redderer, ceteris ponti et machinis adherentibus, solus in precipicium feror. Cumque in horam tenuissimam cuiusdam uasis, in quo cementum

[1] Eystein was not Episcopus, but Archiepiscopus, which might indicate that this heading was written in England. Still we have below, l. 14, 'episcopalem' used of the Archbishop.

[2] Romans xii. 15.

[3] i. e. filio.

[4] Nobody is more near to a man than his mother's only son. Charity begins at home. If we are bidden to praise the benefits conferred by S. Olaf on others, much more are we bound to extol the benefits he has conferred on the ministers of the church at Trondhjem; we therefore commit these miracles to writing for the information of generations yet to come.

[5] In *C. C. C.* ponens.

mouebatur, latus impingeret, eo periculosior fit casus, quo tenuiori materia in ruina latus excipitur. Deferor itaque manibus meorum quasi exanimis, et, post interuallum redeunte uigore, ad cubiculum deducor, anxior anxiatus, et duplici contritione conteror. Dolet enim costarum confractio, nec minus animum instans martiris, set negata, sollempnitas; post triduum enim futurum erat martiris natalitium, longe lateque populorum accessibus frequentatum. Cumque inter hec [1] corporis animique molestias pcrurgerer, ad patronum meum beatum olauum, licet de propriis meritis diffidens, plena tamen fide, precibus confugio; et, ut rerum experientia monstrat, suorum non immemor clamanti affuit. Cum enim festiuitatis dies illuxisset [2], ad missarum sollempnia signorum [3] sonitu populus ex more uocaretur, confero cum his qui aderant, si ad ecclesiam, pro uirium defectu, sustentari deberem. Hortor ab his et amplector, nam uoluntas trahebat. At cum ecclesiam ingrederer, qui prius missarum sollempnitatibus, uirium defectum metuens, uix interesse presumpseram, lenito aliquantulum dolore, et uigore quodam animi uiriumque robore paulisper collecto, ad pociora speranda iam fidentius presumebam. Ocius igitur reuestiri quero, ut cum fratribus in processione appaream. Cumque ad locum uentum esset, ubi pro sermone fatiendo processionis stacio fieri solet, de sermone non presumens, tamen indultam a domino papa peccatorum et penitencie remissionem paucis exprimere conabar. At cum in oratione ad uotum uires accrescerent, solitum, set inopinatum, exhortationis protraxi sermonem. Sicque missarum tociusque sollempnitatis officia compleuimus, ut non labor fatigationem, set fatigatio recreationem, perfecte ministraret, et licet ad plenum nondum dolor recessisset, ossa tamen ad plenum sunt consolidata, et perfecta sanitas sensim est consecuta.

[1] Sic in *C.C.C.* by error for *has*.
[2] Supply et.
[3] Bells.

DE HOMINE AB INSANIA ET MULTIPLICI CORPORIS INFIRMITATE LIBERATO.

In superiori prouincia, que rayndal[1] appellatur, erat quidam homo Þorias[2] nomine, qui sibi uxorem genere comparem accepit. Hic, cum in bonis, que sibi a parentibus relicta fuerant, ad tempus felici prosperaretur successu, tam horrenda percussus est passione, ut cunctis in admiratione fieret, qualiter unum miserabile corpus tam multiplex diuine animaduersionis ira percelleret. Simul namque membrorum omnium paralisi percussus est, et mentis inualitudine. Amens etenim factus erat, surdus et mutus, cui nichil quod hominis est relictum esse uidebatur, nisi solus hanelitus. Set cum multa, que prius inaudita sunt, in huius hominis egritudine euenirent, illud pre omnibus mirandum existimo, qualiter octo continuas ebdomadas, et post interuallum, tres, sine gustatione cibi et potus, uel omni corporis alimento, uiuens transsigeret. Hic cum per multa uiarum discrimina a parentibus et amicis, quasi corpus exanime, ad ecclesiam beati olaui duceretur, laudabili deuocione et mira constancia eorum, qui eum duxerant, a festo beati michaelis, usque ad perceptam gratiam, nisi cum necessitatibus corporis obsequerentur, die noctuque in ecclesia seruatus est; qui cum, pro sua miseria, nec eciam cogitacionem posset ad deum dirigere, sociorum fidem et miram constanciam credimus ei plurimum profuisse. Ueniente itaque festiuitate beati olaui, cum ex diuersis regionibus innumera populorum fieret confluentia, coram posita multitudine cum pro omnium salute uitale sacrificium sumeretur, eadem hora, a loco ubi positus fuerat, quasi alicuius inpulsu, subtus ipsum scrinium cecidit. Nec mora, ita sanus surrexit, ut nullam in eo huiusmodi molestie notam fuisse perpenderes. Gratias itaque acturus ad altare ueniens, nobis

[1] Now Rendal in Österdal.
[2] Thorias, Latinized form of Þorir.

confessus est a festo beate MARIE usque ad illum diem, quid de se fieret, uel ubi esset, se penitus ignorare. Eadem etiam die, antequam cibum sumeret, in argumentum perfecte curationis, ad agendum gratias, omnes ecclesias ciuitatis niderosie congrua deuotione accitus uisitauit.

QUALITER IUUENIS QUIDAM AB ILLUSIONE FANTASTICA SIT LIBERATUS.

In uilla, que uttorgar[1] dicitur, iuuenis quidam cum eiusdem uille colono annua se pactione locauerat. Qui cum ad incidendum lingna die quadam nemus peteret, accepta securi, et equi collario, ad opus festinauit. A finitimis igitur partibus uille intra nemoris et montium secreta deueniens, duas mulieres e latere uenientes, illius prouincie feminis cultu et specie longe prestantiores prospexit[2]. Quarum formam et habitum cum ipse miraretur, mente captus, quo eas sequeretur ignorabat. Cumque diutius earum ducatu per inuia ageretur, in obiecta rupe antrum patebat. Quod ille ingressus, innumeram letantium et quasi conuiuantium turbam conspicit, in quorum medio unus quasi ceteris honoratior residebat, cuius censura reliqua turba regi uidebatur. Hunc cum isdem[3] nobilis intrasse conspiceret, bene eum uenisse gratulabatur; reliqua quoque turba eius susceptioni letabunda congaudet, et, licet uniuersi eum gratanter suscipere uiderentur,

[1] Now Udtorge, under 66° 25′. In Helgeland, formerly called Halogaland (the Holy Land).

[2] In the *Miracles of S. John of Beverley*, p. 311, cited above, a lad of Beilby is punished for his levity as follows. He went to the woods to meet a girl with whom he 'kept company,' contrary to the wish of his parents. Presently he fancied he saw her through the underwood and hurried on to meet her, but after much wandering up and down he was unable to overtake her; 'ut teneret non valuit, sed daemoniaco figmento diu delusus; tandem evanuit quae puella videbatur, nec erat, sed spiritus nequam.' On this the boy returned home perfectly dumb, but by the help of S. John he recovered his speech.

[3] Sic.

officiosius tamen, et quasi quadam familiariori pre ceteris sedulitate, predicte[1] itineris duces cibi potusque, et tandem diuersarum concupiscibilium rerum genera, indistanter offerunt. Set licet tot fantasticis illusionibus ad mentis exterminium traheretur, fidei tamen memoriam in mente retinebat. Unde deum et sanctum olauum nunquam inuocare cessabat. Cumque oblata queque, diuina pietate adiutus, recusaret, et dolosas inimici uersucias dei fretus auxilio superasset, uidens antiquus[2] hostis ficte artis frustrata[3] molimina, confusus ad malicie arma patenter prorupit. Fit namque antrum horridum, quod prius omni luxu plena aula resplendebat; tetrique spiritus, qui prius humana specie et habitu decori apparebant. Ignis quoque in medio antro per longum pauimenti sulphurea flamma uidebatur estuare. Circumstrepit agmen inimicum, et, quasi dexteram cauentes, a leva huc illucque igni trementem impellunt. Cedit robur fatigationi et ieunio, sed quo infirmior carne, eo fortior fit spiritu. Tanto namque ualidiori spe diuine pietati innititur, quanto se omni humano solatio conspicit destitutum. Set ecce inter gemitus et uoces deprecatiuas, subita luce antri splendescit introitus; fit fuga demonum, ignis uanescit fantasticus. Subsequitur uir uultu et uerbo placidus, dicens, Uocasti me, ecce assum. Ille uero, priorem timens deceptionem, nullum respondit uerbum. Is uero, qui ei apparuit, constanter ex diuinis uerbis astruens quod ex bona parte esset, adiecit et dixit, Ego sum sanctus olauus quem inuocasti, neque opus est ut te amplius timor conturbet. Missus enim sum ut tibi ad tuos ducatum prebeam. Ab illa autem hora quale esset, uel quantum intersticium temporis, uel quid ageretur donec domum intraret, in qua cum aliis operariis dormire consueuerat, nec scire se meminit, neque narrare potuit. Set certum est quod mane discessit, et sequentis diei uespere rediit. Quo facto sacerdotem adiit, eique euentum rei ex ordine pandens, percepti beneficii gratia, ad perpetuum martiris seruicium in ecclesia eius uoto se deuote obli-

[1] Sic in *C. C. C.* [2] antiqus in *C. C. C.* [3] frustata in *C. C. C.*

gauit. Ad nos itaque pariter ueniunt, nam eo tempore parochias ex more[1] circumeuntes, in uicina prouintia ecclesiasticis detinebamur negociis, et quod prius cum sacerdote, postmodum nobiscum confert et confirmat, et, ut temporis experientia monstrat, quod deuote uoluerat non minus deuote exequitur.

Item mulier, que per dolorem oculorum uisum amiserat, paucis ante festum martiris diebus, adepta sanitate, letatur.

Eodem tempore quidam lundensis[2] in oratorio de ringgisair[3], quod martiris nomine insignitur, uisum recepit, quod, licet in primis minus perfecte assequeretur, ductore tamen spreto, ad gratias agendum niderosiam properat, ubi, cum diebus aliquot martiris natalitium prestolando, gratiarum accionibus, et pro sanitatis perfectione obsecrationibus insisteret, non minus gratam quam dilatam sanitatem recepit. Set quoniam in finibus illis predicti iuuenis nulla habebatur noticia, nudis eius uerbis nulla est fides adhibita. At cum proximo martiris natalicium instaret, inter multitudinem ex diuersis regionibus confluentem assunt eiusdem prouincie honorati uiri, predicti iuuenis noticiam profitentes, et fideli testimonio relationem eiusdem roborantes.

DE PAGANO AD INUOCATIONEM MARTIRIS AB INFIRMITATE CORPORIS ET INFIDELITATE MENTIS SANATO.

Duo iuuenes de finibus estonum[4], ex perfidia ad fidem nouiter conuersi, orationis causa ecclesiam beati olaui martiris uisitant. Hi non nullas miràculorum choruscationes, per interuentum beati martiris olaui,

[1] The Archbishop goes on a visitation, according to his custom.

[2] lundensis, if not a mistake of the copyist, must mean 'a man of Lund,' in Scania, the southern province of Sweden, who had travelled up to the oratory of S. Olaf in southern Norway.

[3] Ringgisair ought to be written Ringisacr, now Ringsaker, a parish in North Hedemarken, near the lake Miösen. The altar-piece of the church was made at Antwerp. See Introduction, p. 44.

[4] Esthonia.

in illa adhuc pagana gente, ut fidei lumen auidius appeterent, passim clarescere retulerunt. Unum, quod alter eorum inter quedam alia memoranda de patre suo pagano referebat, si caritati uestre onerosum non fuerit, dignum relatione duximus. Quodam tempore, cum christianorum excercitus fines illos intraret, et execrabilia paganorum sacra cum reperta gente uastarent[1], oportunum existimant, dum infidelium regionibus fidelium terror ex noua uictoria incumberet, salutare fidei uerbum incolis predicare. Cui sacro negotio dum ipse princeps tum minis, tum blandis instaret monitis, prefati iuuenis pater inter renitentes acrius resistebat. Filium namque in conflictu christianorum nouiter amiserat, et hic dolor salutis odii[2] et rebellionis precipua causa extiterat. Qui, cum nec minis, nec monitis, nec filii, quem baptismi gratiam suscepisse diximus, salutaribus persuasionibus cederet, diuina tandem miseratione respectus grauissimo langore corripitur. Quid plura? Inualescente morbo tamdiu fatigatur et uexatur, donec, toto corpore conglomerato, humanam uideretur formam exuisse. Conuocantur itaque aruspices, et quique nefandi ritus primarii, ut obscena arte uiri doloribus subuenirent. Set frustratur ars maligna, ubi gratia operatur diuina. Alloquitur filius anxium patrem, et de salute eius nimium sollicitus, precibus assiduis salutaria miscet colloquia, inter fidem et infidelitatem discriminans, piis gloriam, et impiis gehennam proponit debitam. At quoniam beati olaui martiris memoria in uicinis prouintiis ob signorum frequentiam percelebris habetur, ad ipsius gratiam postulandam patrem fidentius hortatur. Audiens itaque huiuscemodi ueritatis insinuationem obriguit homo, inter indubia inepte dubitans. Hinc namque priorum suorum cultu tenetur, inde corporis molestia, et intentato perpetuo cruciatu ad salutis admonitionem paulisper emollescit. Uicit tandem ualidior, nam diu detenta spolia christus tiranno surripuit[3]. Frangitur postremo obstinata efferitas, et dei gratiam, sanctique martiris interuentum, intimis

[1] Sic *C.C.C.*

[2] His grief had been the cause of his hatred of salvation.

[3] S. Luke xi. 22.

cepit efflagitare precordiis. Profert uotum et confirmat ut, si diuinitus respici meruerit, et baptismum suscipere, et martiris ecclesiam, quamtotius potuerit, uisitare. Cumque se deo et martiri per uotum obligasset, morbi uinculo absolui promeruit. Nam erectis tybiis, uiribusque collectis, uoti non immemor ad baptismi gratiam alacriter conuolauit. Qua percepta, ad reddendas pro suscepta sanitate gratiarum actiones, martiris oratorium cum uotiuis petit oblationibus, ubi cum christiane religionis cultum tanta gloria feruere miraretur, eo amplius in fide solidatur, quo, ipso intuitu, de suscepti cultus et relicti disparitate certioratur. Degustans itaque quod suauis sit dominus, et beatus qui sperat in eo [1], christiani captiui domum ueniens, redemptionem de manu paganorum priori superaddidit uoto, et, quod maius est, cuicumque fugientium christianorum de paganorum seruitute apud se, pro posse suo, spondet futuram protectionem.

DE IUUENE A LEPRA MUNDATO.

Coram posita diuersarum regionum multitudine in ipso martiris natalitio, pro emundatione sua gratias referebat filius cuiusdam prepositi nostri. In cuius admirande sanitatis efficatia, ipsi ab omnibus unanimiter laus et gloria perclamatur, qui ad sanctorum suorum glorificationem gloriosa queque operatur. Fuerat namque iuuenis iste tanta lepre feditate obsessus, ut parentibus desperationem, et medicis repulsam morbida tabes generaret. Uerum quoniam, nonunquam ut assolet, ad corporis debilitatem uirtus mentis accrescit, ad diuinam eos pietatem humani destitutio solacii fiducialius transmittit. Parentes itaque cum iuuene, pro impetranda eius sanitate, ad martiris interuentum confugiunt, addentes uotum eius se basilicam cum oblatione uisitaturos, si eis diuina miseratio pro uoto respondeat aperiri. Uotum itaque

[1] Psalm xxxiv. 8.

assecuti uotum persoluere satagunt. Ipse etenim iuuenis ab infirmitate prorsus alienus, pudore per deuotionem pulsato, maluit spectaculum multorum fieri quam[1] pro eius uerecundia gloria dei silentio tegeretur.

Set neque hoc cum silentio transeundum puto, quod mihi in ecclesia mea existenti quidam iuuenis probabili assertione significauit, se nouiter a finibus paganorum[2] uenisse, ubi multitudo christianorum, transacto quadragesimali tempore, in piscatione conuenerat; cumque dei donum in primo aduentu diutius incassum prestolarentur, quid actu opus esset[3] attentius conferebant. Nam cum in modico marium interiactu, infra paganorum solitudines, christianorum finibus elongati per tres aut quatuor iam septimanas a captura, quam sperauerant, frustrarentur, non minus tedio quam ciborum defectu consternuntur. Die uero aliqua, quando circumiacentibus scopulis illisum mare miris amfractibus resonaret, totusque aer caliginosa tempestate commotus perstreparet, quia ex elementorum turbatione minimam serenitatis spetiem concipere poterant, dei misericordiam[4] et sancti olaui interuentum uoce et uoto suppliciter adeunt, secum unanimiter confirmantes, ut optimum piscem, cuique naui prouenientem, ad ecclesiam beati olaui transmittere deberent, si diuina miseratione respecti forent. Audientes finni[5], qui etiam ad piscationem conuenerant, fidelium uota, petebant se in hoc consilio socios admitti, ita tamen, quod non minus eorum deiculi de his, que ex eorum

[1] Supply *ut*.

[2] The Luffodens. So we learn that this famous winter fishery, the source of such great wealth to Norway, was in full activity in the twelfth century. At Vágar (now Vaagen) there was a great annual mart in connexion with the fishery. King Eystein I had booths erected here for the convenience of the fishermen, and the first church, about 1120: Munch, *Historisk-geographisk Beskrivelse*, p. 62. But even in our Athelstan's time Thorolf employed many men in the fishery in Halogaland; *Egils Saga*, c. 10. In the days of Alfred, Ohthere is described as one of the greatest men up in those parts; but, as he only had 20 cows, 20 sheep, and 20 swine, his chief source of wealth must have been the fishery. Munch, *Norske Folks Historie*, I. 89.

[3] In *C. C. C.* the sign for essent, by error of copyist for esset.

[4] In *C. C. C.* misericordia by error.

[5] Over 'finni,' apparently by the same hand, is written 'i. pagani.'

uoto peruenirent, honorari deberent, quam beatus olauus ex fidelium oblationibus. Set quia nulla est conuentia[1] christi ad belial[2], in suo errore repulsi sunt miseri. Ueniente uero proxima die, simul cum noctis caligine tempestatis recessit caligo. Facta autem serenitate tranquillitas subsecuta est, et tranquillitatem tanta piscium habundantia ut de solo ductu postmodum quererentur. Set inest miraculo quiddam mirabilius dictu. Simul cotidie cum christianis ad capturam pagani conueniunt, set, quasi a deo spreti, preter solitum a piscibus cum uniuersis artibus suis frustrabantur. Nam eorum nauibus, ad instantem uictus necessitatem, captura piscium uel tenuissime uix proueniebat. De uoto autem christianorum, pro numero nauium, in uigilia pasce xx^ti^ iiii^or^ magni pisces simul cum prefata relatione ad nos usque peruenerunt. Set cum in dei cultu ueritas sit pernecessaria, huius rei assignationem distulimus, donec estate proxima ad confinia paganorum uenientes, de aliis, qui facti noticiam etiam presentialiter habuerant, certitudinem caperemus[3].

Ductus est ad ecclesiam beati olaui taurus triennis. Nobis autem querentibus unde, uel cur, duceretur[4], dixit is, a cuius ministro ducebatur, a prouintia que lyuxa[5] dicitur, uenire. Causam autem reddidit, dicens, Cum mihi, inquit, in iuuentute mansionem parassem, et eam armentis et aliis necessariis pro modulo meo instruxissem; ut moris est rusticorum, in spe multiplicandi fetus animalium auidius suspendor. Uerum aut sterilitas prouentum negabat, aut inimica mors educatum rapiebat. Cogitanti itaque mihi de rerum distractione, si forte in ciuitate fortunatior fieret status, occurrit amicorum et uicinorum consilium

[1] Sic in *C. C. C.*   [2] 2 Corinthians vi. 15.

[3] The Archbishop makes strict inquiry, before crediting this miracle, during the following summer, when on his visitation in that part of his diocese adjoining the Pagans. This would be in Halogaland, which in those days extended as far as the Malanger-fjord near Tromsö, and included all that part of Norway now called Nordland. North of this were only heathen Lapps or Fins; cf. Munch, *ibid.*

[4] duceretur] dueretur, MS.

[5] The island of Lexa in Fosen, between Hiteren and Agdanes. In 1340 it was still called Löxa.

dicentium: uix insuetis in proucta etate mercatu succedere[1], unde potius ad deum et sanctum olauum precibus et uoto monent conuertendum. Libens itaque uotum subeo, promittens beato Olauo singulis annis ex armentis primogenitum. Mira res! Per septem annos continuos ante uotum nec uitulus unus uiuere potuit. His autem tribus a uoto currentibus iam duodecim peruenerunt, ex quibus duo, qui uotum contingunt, ad nutriendum domi remanent. Hunc autem, quoniam in etate erat prouectior, in uoti deuotam prelibationem offerimus.

Ad hec mulier quedam, per septennium ex neruorum contractione offitio pedum amisso, iam per quadriennium in ciuitate nostra, pro[2] beneficiis suscipiendis et ecclesie uisitatione, manuum annisu incuruata trahebatur, que cum in dominica annuntiatione in ecclesia beati martiris pernoctaret, dominice gratie nuntium ad perfectam sanitatem meruit suscipere.

Non inmerito, fratres, eisdem in locis sancti martires passim choruscant miraculis, quibus olim, ludibrio habiti, pro fidei defensione ab impiis sunt trucidati. Inde est quod quidam surdus et mutus, de familia monachorum cistertiensium[3] in uicinio habitantium, in martiris natalitio cum aliis plurimis uenit ad ecclesiam, que in loco martirii sancti olaui sita est. Qui cum ex itineris fatigatione, uel potius diuino nutu, sompno premeretur eo tempore, quo sacerdos ad populum exhortationis sermonem faceret, in uisione uisa est sibi lux permaxima inter turbam insolito fulgore clarescere, quam et subsequitur uir uultu et habitu premisse claritatis splendorem preferens. Quem cum ad se conspiceret[4],

[1] A quaint mixture of common-sense and superstition.

[2] In *C. C. C.* by error, per.

[3] This is singular. In Eystein's time there were no Cistercians to be found in the Trondhjem district (Þraendalög). The monastery of Tautra was first founded in 1207. And Nidarholm monastery was a Cluniac foundation. See Lange, *De Norske Klosters Historie*, p. 238, and p. 199 sqq.

[4] Query supply uenire; or, perhaps, in the original it was not ad se, but adēē, i.e. adesse.

eum salutatione preuenire uisus est. Ad quem ille, Si salutem, inquit, queris, ecce, a deo sanatus es. At ille, Quis es, domine? Ait ille, Ille idem sum quem tu inuocasti. Ad hec euigilans, dei uirtute, et sancti olaui interuentu, circa se actam pietatem coram omni populo, ad perfecte curationis inditium, uoce et uerbis expresse[1] pertulit. Hec primo a sacerdote loci illius, deinde ab ipso abbate et fratribus, in quorum ministerio predictus iuuenis prius et post uersabatur, didicimus.

Item sequenti martiris natalitio, in basilica eiusdem, ad corpus illius loquelam diu amissam puer paruulus recuperauit. Cuius ex inualitudine curationem, eiusdem muti in ciuitate longa conuersio, pulcra uocis expressione perfecte, postmodum edocuit.

DE PUERO A CONTRACTIONE MENBRORUM SANATO.

Puer quidam, karolus nomine, qui, morbo superueniente in membris organicis, retrorsum contractos habebat pedes, ad ecclesiam beati olaui martiris a matre et fratribus est adductus. Cum in hospitali[2] eiusdem ecclesie, quod infirmis deputatum est, requiesceret, uidit in sompnis circa mediam noctem tres uiros splendidissimos per ipsam domum deambulantes, et egrotantium corpora intuentes. Et cum deambulando ter uniuersam domum circuissent, ad lectulum, in quo contractus puer iacebat, de more solito peruenerunt. Tanta uero claritas uniuersam domum in ipsa nocte repleuit, ac si per omnes parietes eius radii solis cernerentur. Uno autem eorum ad caput pueri, alio ad pedes consistente, tercius, statura breuis, decorus facie, cuius splendidior erat aspectus, medius fuit. Quem, dilectissimi fratres, beatum olauum fuisse sine dubio credimus et tenemus, quia in eadem forma, sicut multorum relatione didicimus, solet

[1] In *C. C. C.* exprese.

[2] Hospitali: the hospital near the cathedral, 'spitalsgarðr firir norðan kristkirkiu,' mentioned in a Diploma of King Erik Magnusson, A.D. 1298. Cf. *Diplom. Norvagicum*, I. p. 80, and Lange's *Klosters Historie*, p. 196.

hominibus apparere. Hic autem, cum super puerum medius staret, signum crucis super genua eius fecit, et inclinans se in eadem insufflauit, manum uero super frontem eius posuit, et excitauit illum, dicens: Ecce iam sanus factus es, noli dormire, surge uelociter. Et continuo puer euigilans aperuit oculos suos, et uidit lucem magnam, que in domo fuerat, paulatim post abcessum sancti uiri recedere. Territus autem et tremefactus totus, clamare cepit, et que sibi euenerant his, qui cum illo erant, exponi cupiebat. At uiri sancti uerborum non immemor, manus suas ad ea loca porrexit, quibus contracti antea solebant herere pedes. Cum ibidem eos herentes non inuenisset, de misericordia dei, et beati olaui meritis, ad cuius limina uenerat, maximam confidentiam habens, cepit se erigere, et sanus factus supra pedes suos stetit, et immensas deo gratias agens libere ambulauit, et omnibus, qui in eadem domo manebant, que gesta sunt explanauit. Mane facto, post missarum sollempnia, domino largiente, completa, qui triennio fuerat in tanta miseria morbi detentus, ut crura eius et pedes natibus inseparabiliter adhererent, diuino miraculo resolutus, et integerrime sanus factus, libere quo uoluit suis pedibus ambulauit.

APPENDICES.

I.

BREVIARIUM ABERDONENSE, p. 33[1].

PARS HYEMALIS, ON IIIRD KL. APRIL = MARCH 30[2], IN RED, SANCTI OLAUI REGIS ET MARTYRIS ORACIO.

OMNIPOTENS sempiterne Deus clemenciam tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut sicut beatum Olauum martyrem mira providencia regem in terris constituisti catholicum et predicatorem eximium, ita apud tuam misericordiam in celis pro nobis facias perpetuum intercessorem. Per dominum nostrum.

LECT. I. Olauus noruagie quondam rex, et martyr domini gloriosus, euangelice veritatis accepta fide in urbe rothomagensi, gallie inclite ciuitatis, et baptismate sacro unctus, euangelicis indutus armis, terrenis abiectis, nouum se induit hominem, et ex rege terreno apostolus christi sua predicacione effectus est mellifluus, atque in breui populi innumerabilem domino acquisiuit multitudinem.

LECT. II. Etenim explicari minime potest quantum rex ipse regni sui populis in christiana fide profuit, dum eisdem stemate regio presidebat, sed ab ipsis tamen quibusdam maliuolis et male habentibus diaboli satellitibus quam maximas perpessus est molestias et atrocissimas iniurias. Nam vi et armis suo regno hereditario expoliauerunt, et minacibus suis de eodem hostiliter eundem insidiando deiecerunt.

LECT. III. Beato vero Olauo extra regnum suum deiecto omnia pro Christi amore pacienter sustulit, in russiam secessit, ubi ab ager zelato[3], illius prouincie rege magnifico, honorifice susceptus est, aliquantisper ibidem eciam persuasu regio degens honestam vite formam, et sue religionis christiane monimentum illius patrie incolis in breui reliquit; sed deinde igne decoctus persecucionis, diuino inspiratus spiritu, per suecie fines ad propria remeauit.

LECT. IV. Sed nocte precedente, qua martyr inclitus Olauus passus est agonem, a domino confortatus, ad martyrium intrepidus, tanquam ad predam leo, accessit, et

[1] A like instance of the date occurs in Adam King's Kalendar (see *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 148). '30 March S. Ole King of Norwege and Mart. vnder Henry ye Crowkit, 1012. 29 July S. Ole King of Swaden and Mart. vnder Conradus, 1028.' A confusion apparently between S. Olaf of Norway and a supposed Olaf mart. of Sweden.

[2] Drawn up by Bishop Elphinstone, 1509.

[3] Such is the metamorphosis of Jarisleif, and so quoted by Bishop Forbes, *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, Edin. 1872, p. 426.

lete spem victorie et triumphi sui in christo iesu, qui pro eo turpissimam quam narrare phas est pertulit mortem, indubitanter ponens, atque cum iocundissimo et hilari vultu, tanquam sponsus ad nupcias, inimicis christi et fidei sue et regni sui tuicioni obuiam venit. Conspiratores vero ipsius eum protinus videntes, uti canes rapidi furore et iracundia succensi, in unctum suum regem mansuetumque et pium non formidantes sanguinolentas iniecerunt manus, et crudeliter bellicis armis gladiis et fustibus crudelissime dederunt neci, et tenerimas suas delaniando carnes roseo sanguine candidissimum corpusculum maduerunt.

LECT. V. Abeuntibus autem lictoribus, ministri beati Olaui corpus aqua tepida lauerunt, et sepulture honorifice tradiderunt. Casuque accidit, cum tepida illa aqua sanguine mixta de foribus domus, in qua ministri cum[1] lauabant, eiecta extiterat, cecus in eodem prolapsus, inuitus quamquam, oculos suos eodem sanguine et aqua deliniuit, unde illico visui meritis beati viri restitutus est. Namque diuulgatoque miraculo quidam asclauus[2] lingua per inimicos suos abscisa beatum Olauum assidue corde et mente deprecabatur; orationeque facta, pristine loquele adeptus est usum. Qui in ecclesia postea perpetuo se dedit mancipatum. Mulierque deformis manibus et pedibus inuicem coadunatis meritis beati Olaui recta et equa effecta sunt.

LECT. VI. Quidam etiam constantinopolis imperator catholicus, inito bello aduersus regem quendam paganorum, de pugna dubius, beato Olauo cum omnibus suis deuotas illic in acie constrictis effuderunt preces, ut pro eorundem auxilio deum assidue deprecaretur, nec mora ulla contracta beatus Olauus ut signifer imperatoris exercitum precedere visus est a multis, unde illico pagani omnes in fugam conuertuntur. Et seruituti imperatoris redacti sunt, et gloriosum ex eisdem sortitus est triumphum et victorie palmam.

No Lections in this Breviary on St. Olaf's day, July 29.

II.

S. MAGNUS, p. 34.

As much mental confusion prevails in respect to this Saint, to whom churches were dedicated, not only in Orkney and Shetland, but even in London, e.g. S. Magnus the Martyr, at the foot of London Bridge, it will not be out of place here to throw some light upon the subject as one akin to the main topic of this work. If we look into the account of the Bollandists, we shall find that there were very many Saints of this name. There was a S. Magnus Bishop of Anagnia, and a S. Magnus Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who suffered in Caesarea A.D. 276, under Alexander the Governor; who, after he had exposed this holy martyr, for refusing to sacrifice to the pagan gods, twice to a fiery furnace to be consumed in the flames, thrice to wild

[1] i. e. eum.

[2] The true reading is 'a Sclavis.'

beasts to be devoured by them, but in vain, at last commanded him to be stoned, and when they had laid a heap of stones on him and thought he was dead, on a sudden the martyr of Christ, in everybody's hearing, prayed to the Lord that he would take away his soul in peace, and presently gave up the ghost. His body was buried in that city in a new coffin, 14 Kal. Decemb. It is to this last that Newcourt[1] would assign the dedication of the church at the foot of London Bridge. But it does not seem improbable, in the absence of all documents with regard to its dedication, looking to the number of churches close by in the City of London dedicated to the other great Scandinavian Saint, S. Olaf, that the Magnus of the dedication is not the martyr of the third century, but an Orkney Earl, Magnus Erlendson, who was canonized after his murder. His biography and death are recorded in the Orkney Saga[2], and in the fuller account in the Saga of S. Magnus, which are borne out as regards the historical facts by the *Heimskringla*. The *Magnus Helga Saga*, a complex work, derived from Norse and Latin sources, follows in substance the Latin biography of one Rodbert, a monk (c. 6), whom it quotes and who wrote in 1130, in the days of Earl Rognwald, and who himself cites as his authority the narration of a man who was present at the murder of S. Magnus, and related the particulars to the writer (*Magnus Saga* 22). It must be especially noted as indicative of the particular Magnus to whom the London church was dedicated, that the church of S. Olaf occupies the corresponding position just below the bridge, on the opposite side of the Thames; so that at the time, nay, probably before, the first stone bridge was built, the ends of the wooden bridge were occupied by the churches of S. Olaf and S. Magnus respectively. Such a juxtaposition was quite natural, as in the old Norse Saga we find persons[3] in distress offering prayers to these two saints simultaneously. According to Stow, Peter of Colechurch began to build the bridge of stone about the year 1176, and it was finished in 1203, when a chapel was built on the arches, dedicated to S. Thomas the Martyr, which chapel was within the precincts of S. Magnus' parish. This points to a very early period for the existence of S. Magnus' Church, in fact, at the very time when the cult of S. Magnus would be at its height. In this church of S. Magnus, Hugh Pourt, Sheriff of London in 1302, and Margaret his wife, founded a perpetual chantry (Newcourt, I. 396).

But it is time that we should say a few words about the man to whom the London and other churches seem unquestionably to be dedicated. Orkney was first christianized by king Olaf Tryggvason of Norway. In the reign of Magnus Barefoot, S. Magnus first comes into prominence. That king had carried him off in a Viking

[1] *Repertorium*, I. 395. Cf. William of Malmesbury, *G. R.* ii. § 174.

[2] *Orkneyinga Saga*, Havniae, 1780, ed. Jonaeus, and p. 426, ib.; *Magnus Helga Saga*, which gives a list of his miracles; cf. *Flateyb.* II. 422, sqq., where the text is better; the *Orkneyinga Saga*, translated from the text of the *Flateybok*, ed. Joseph Anderson, Edinburgh, 1873, cap. xxxiii-xliii. In a fragment of an old Shetland ballad, written down phonetically by Lowe, allusions are made to S. Magnus. Anderson, cxv.

[3] So in the miracle recorded below, p. 123; cf. *Biskupa Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1858, I. 453, where Ranveig invokes S. Olaf, S. Magnus, and S. Hallvard, who all appear to her at once.

expedition along the coast of Wales, and in a battle off Anglesea he refused to fight, whereupon he was apostrophized by Barefoot, 'Then go down, coward, into the hold!' S. Magnus took his Psalter and obeyed, calmly chanting psalms while the battle raged on the poop[1]. Some time after, Magnus escaped from durance by casting himself overboard in a Scotch creek, and swimming to shore. As soon as the king became aware of his flight, he sent sleuth-hounds in pursuit, which easily tracked the fugitive, as he had wounded his foot against a stone. The leading hound came to the foot of a tree which Magnus had ascended, and began circling round it, baying lustily withal. Hurling a cudgel which he happened to have with him at the clamorous beast, Magnus managed to wound him in the side; whereupon he fled with his tail between his legs, and the rest of the pack taking fright scampered off to the ship[2]. Not until the Viking fleet had disappeared did Magnus venture to quit his place of concealment in the woods; then he escaped to Scotland and remained for a time at the court of king Malcolm[3]. He also visited England, and was domiciled for a time with a certain bishop in Wales. The uses of adversity were sweet to him. During his exile, partly perhaps through the counsel of the bishop, he repented of his past way of life, and from a sinner became a saintly character. Shortly after the death of king Magnus Barefoot, he returned to Orkney from Scotland with a large body of followers, to claim his hereditary rights to the suzerainty of the country against his cousin Hacon, Paul's son, who had obtained the title of Earl of Orkney from the Norwegian king[4]. A compromise was effected, and the Orkneys were divided between the two. For some years they remained on good terms, each governing his respective earldom in peace. But Magnus' virtues, which rendered him beloved by his subjects, provoked the jealousy of Hacon; and there were not wanting those who, perceiving this, so managed matters that a rupture was in the end brought about, and the Earl resolved to extinguish his co-regent[5]. The popularity of Magnus, however, made it difficult to effect this, except by treachery. So in the year 1115 Hacon enticed him to the little island called Egilsey, under the pretence of making a solemn covenant of peace[6]. Magnus, in spite of inauspicious omens, allowed himself to fall into the trap. With a few retainers he arrived at the place of rendezvous, and repaired to the church[7], which was presently surrounded by Hacon

[1] *Flateyb.* II. p. 428.

[2] *Magnus Saga*, c. 8; cf. Miracle xii in S. Olaf's legend (p. 85), for a similar use of sleuth-hounds.

[3] *Flateyb.* II. p. 428.

[4] Ib. p. 430.

[5] Ib. p. 431; *Magnus Saga*, 21.

[6] *Flateyb.* II. p. 432, sqq.

[7] The church of Egilsey, which is still standing, differs from all the existing churches on the island by having a round tower rising at the west end of the nave. Its original dedication is unknown, and there is nothing to fix the date with absolute certainty (Anderson, xcii). Professor Munch says, 'The church of Egilsey is shown by its construction to have been built before the Northmen arrived in Orkney, or, at all events, to belong to the more ancient Christian Celtic population; both its exterior and its interior show so many resemblances to the old churches in Ireland of the seventh and eighth centuries that we are compelled to suppose it to have been erected at the time by Irish priests or Papae. As we find no remains of any similar churches on the islands, we must conjecture it to have been the first of the few on the thinly inhabited isle-group. The

with a large body of armed men, whom he had brought with him in contravention of the stipulations of the meeting. The priest happened to be celebrating the Holy Communion at the time. Feeling that there was no escape, Magnus partook of the 'saving sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ,' when four ruffian emissaries of Hacon, violating the sanctuary, entered the building and dragged him before their master. Although he felt certain of his fate, he stood calm and unmoved in this terrible moment, and thus addressed his persecutor: 'You do not well, cousin, in thus breaking your oath to me; but I think that you are not doing this of your own free will, but at the wicked instigation of others. I propose to you three conditions, that you may choose one of them rather than break your oath, and suffer me, an innocent man, to be slaughtered.' These conditions throw much light on the notions of that day. They ran thus—Firstly[1], that Magnus should be allowed to go as a pilgrim to Rome, or even to Jerusalem, there to make atonement for the sins of both; taking an oath never to return to the Orkneys. This proposal was at once negatived by Earl Hacon and his men. Secondly, that Magnus should be banished to Scotland and there kept in ward for the term of his natural life with a retinue of only two persons, 'to help him to pass away the time.' Many objections were raised to this proposition also, and it was refused. 'This steadfast knight of Christ now makes his last proposal; God knows, not so much for the sake of his own life.' This was either mutilation or the loss of his eyes, in either case with perpetual imprisonment. 'This condition,' said the cruel Hacon, 'I will accept.' But not so his inexorable followers. 'We will not consent,' said they, 'for Magnus to be tortured and kept alive. One of you we will slay, and you shall not both of you claim to be masters of the country as heretofore.' 'Well then,' said Hacon, 'I had rather be master of the land than die by a sudden death[2].' Magnus on this knelt in prayer, folded his hands before his face, shed innumerable tears, and commended himself and his cause to God. He then signed himself with the sign of the cross and bowed to the stroke. The executioner was Lifolf, Hacon's cook (Steikari)[3]; his standard-bearer, Ofeig, having indignantly declined the office. 'Strike manfully,' said Magnus; 'it befits not that princes should be slain like thieves.' Whereupon Lifolf struck a great stroke at his neck. 'Strike again,' cried Hacon, although the work was already done; so Lifolf smote once more. Thus the Jarl was slain, and his soul ascended up to heaven. This tragedy was enacted in the twelfth year of his co-sovereignty of the Orkneys with Count Hacon, on Monday 16 Kal. May A.D. 1115, on the second day after the feast of SS. Tiburtius and Valerian.

We now read of certain unmistakeable signs being shown, as in the case of

island on which it stood might, therefore, very justly be called "Church Isle." But the Irish word Ecclais (church), derived from the Latin Ecclesia, might easily be mistaken by our forefathers for Egils, the genitive of the man's name Egil.'

[1] *Flateyb.* II. 433; *Magnus Saga*, c. 24.

[2] *Flateyb.* II. 434.

[3] Literally 'roaster.' Here we see the etymology of our word 'steak.' *Flateyb.* II. p. 434; *Magnus Saga*, c. 25.

S. Olaf, that the victim had become a saint. As, on the field of Stikklestad, a fountain rose where S. Olaf fell, so here the place of execution, which was before swampy and stony, now assumed the greenness and beauty of Paradise[1]. At first the rancorous Hacon forbade Magnus' burial in a church, so he was laid in the spot where he had suffered. Subsequently Hacon relented, and the remains were transported for burial to Christ Church in Birgisherad (Birsay), Hrossey. As in the case of S. Olaf, a celestial light was often seen to play over the tomb, and people in peril began to make vows to S. Magnus, and to ask his help. Moreover, a heavenly fragrance was perceived round about his resting place, to inhale which was a specific against sickness. The news of this spread, and sick people from the Orkneys and Shetlands kept vigils at his tomb, and were made whole. It was now quite plain that he was a saint, but men spoke of it in whispers so long as Count Hacon lived. In further proof of the favour of heaven, it was said that all the persons who, by their wicked machinations, made bad blood between the two cousins, and had laid snares for Magnus Jarl, came to a violent end. Count Hacon, for his part, after making himself master of the whole Orkneys, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem, 'as was the custom of the Palmers in those days[2].' Having washed in Jordan he returned to his dominions, which he governed with prudence and moderation, and became popular with his subjects.

But we must now return to S. Magnus. His remains, as we have seen, had been buried at Christ Church[3], in Hrossey, then the seat of the Bishop. Here they reposed for twenty years. Some years later, when the new Cathedral of S. Magnus, Kirkwall (commenced under the superintendence of Kol, father of Earl Rognvald II, in 1137)[4], was ready to receive the relics, they must have been transferred thither.

Bishop William, the first Bishop of the Orkneys, long doubted the sanctity of Magnus (*Flateybok*, II. p. 436), but a miracle, worked by the Saint in his favour at sea, removed his scruples, and on the festival of St. Lucia at Yule, the anniversary of his burial (p. 534, *Magnus Saga*), the body of the saint was by his orders dug up, rising almost to the surface of the ground of its own accord (as in the case of S. Olaf). It was then washed, and subjected to fire, but remained unconsumed; on the contrary it looked like pure silver and changed into the shape of a cross. It was then placed in a shrine. His festival, both that of his burial in winter and that of his death in April, was established by law, and he was proclaimed a saint and canonized by the Pope (*ib.* c. 30). Shortly after, at the request of the saint, who appeared to one Gunni of Westrey, the relics were deposited in the Church of S. Olaf at

[1] *Flateyb.* II. p. 435.
[2] Ib. p. 436.
[3] It was built by Earl Thorfinn some time about the middle of the eleventh century: most likely about the year 1150, after his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It was the seat of the bishopric before the erection of S. Magnus'; and William the Red, who was the first actual bishop, lived to see the bishopric transferred to Kirkwall some time after 1137.
[4] *Flateyb.* II. p. 405.

Kirkwall, which most likely owed its ancient name Kirkiu-Vagr ('creek of the kirk') to this church of S. Olaf there[1]. In the words of the Saga (c. 31), from that time (the date of his canonization) the miracles of the saint became noised about in all the regions of the West and the North. After the relics were transferred thither the small town rapidly increased in size. There went up to visit his sacred relics from the neighbouring countries, towns and cities, men strong of heart and with offerings in their hands. Others sent money to be laid out in ornaments for his shrine, to the honour of the saint, and for their own cure in this world and souls' help in the next[2]. A notable instance of the belief in the Saint's power is that king Hacon, after the battle of Largs, when he lay sick at Kirkwall, went to the church of S. Magnus and made a circuit of the shrine.

The author then proceeds to enumerate his miracles, more than twenty in number. To make sure of deliverance from whatever distress or ailment had befallen them, people would sometimes make a concurrent appeal to both S. Magnus and S. Olaf, in order apparently that, failing the help of one, they might be aided by the other. This was the case with one Elldjarn, who was reduced to extremity by famine. S. Magnus came in answer to his prayer, and restored him to health and strength[3]. Both S. Magnus and S. Olaf had heard his prayers, but, said the apparition, 'S. Olaf has been called away to the West Firths to the relief of a woman who had invoked him, and has sent me hither in his stead.' Of the marvellous cures effected by this Saint, e.g. leprosy (líkþrá)[4], madness, contracted limbs, possession by evil spirits, blindness, the following seems to outdo all others[5]. In the reign of Harald Gille in Norway two rich men falsely accused two brothers of making improper overtures to their kinswoman. They then carried them off to the woods, and slew at night the one whom they most suspected, while they broke both the legs of the other, put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, leaving him half dead. Hardly had they gone when a flock of wolves came, tore in pieces the one who was dead, and then returned to their haunts. Meantime the miserable survivor makes a vow to S. Magnus, whose miracles were at that time[6] at the pinnacle of their fame. Immediately the bright figure of a man stands by him, and gently touches his broken limbs, and the empty sockets of his eyes, then takes the stump of his tongue and pulls it. 'Who art thou?' exclaimed the sufferer. 'I am Earl Magnus. But remember thy vow.' 'Oh! good sir, as you have granted me such a wonderful cure, could you not, by God's help, bring my brother to life again?' The figure gave no response and vanished. But the convalescent resolved to wait two nights on the spot in prayer to God, and to watch what would befall. Before long he sees a great flock of wolves come to

[1] Anderson's *Magnus Saga*, p. lxxxix.

[2] *Magnus Saga*, c. 31; *Flateyb.* III. 229.

[3] *Magnus Saga*, p. 539.

[4] The earliest notice of leprosy in Shetland; a disease which did not die out in those islands till the end of the last century.

[5] *Magnus Saga*, p. 530. Compare the miracle at p. 80 above, to some of the features of which it bears a surprising resemblance.

[6] Harald Gille reigned from 1130–1136. *Ann. Isl.*

the spot where his brother's corpse lay, vomit up the flesh and bones they had swallowed, and then vanish into the thicket. Ere long he sees S. Magnus appear and with his right hand bless[1] the fragments which the wolves had vomited. And anon the corpse became perfectly whole. On a second benediction by the saint, he who was dead rose up sound and alive, and went to his brother, whereupon they embraced each other, and gave thanks to God and S. Magnus for their great mercies vouchsafed to them. We may add that at the Reformation the relics of the saint were removed from Kirkwall, and are now at Aix-la-Chapelle and in the church of S. Vitus at Prague[2].

III.

S. SUNNIVA, p. 34.

A few words respecting the Norwegian Saint Synova, or Sunniva, to whom churches in Orkney and Shetland were dedicated, may be acceptable to the reader. All the literature is to be found in Storm, *Monumenta Hist. Norweg.* xxxi, 145, 283. The earliest notice of this saint occurs in the Scholiast to Adam of Bremen. From the Icelandic account by Odd Munk in *Saga Olafs Tryggvasonar* (*Flateybok*, I. 242), and from a Latin fragment of the church office and lections for the day contained in the *Brev. Nidros.* (Storm, 283), we learn as follows. In the reign of Hacon Jarl over Norway, a certain Irish King died, leaving as his successor on the throne a daughter named Sunniva, wise beyond her years and an ardent Christian, who, at the time of our history, had reached the age of womanhood. Being very beautiful she attracted a heathen Viking, who sought her hand. But, like the Anglo-Saxon Frideswide when wooed by the king of Mercia, she was deaf to his offers. On her refusal, he harried the coast with fire and sword; when, to save her country, she determined to leave Ireland, and embarking on board ship with many friends of both sexes, commended herself and them to God's protection. Ultimately they were driven ashore on the uninhabited island of Selja, South of Stad, in Norway, lat. 62° 4′, where they took up their abode in the caverns, and supported themselves by fishing. The peasants on the mainland descrying them supposed they were pirates, and organized an armed expedition thither. On seeing the boats approaching, the maidens took refuge in the caves and prayed to God to preserve them. Their prayers

[1] Blezar. A word which came to Iceland and Norway from England along with Christianity. In Norway it is now obsolete, while in Iceland it became a word rather of endearment and affection. *Is. Dict.* s. v.

[2] In the Aberdeen Breviary, on the 16th of April there are nine Lections in honour of S. Magnus. Lect. VIII states that he received the laurels of martyrdom A.D. 1104, 16 Kal. May, being a Tuesday. The ninth Lection concludes 'Ora pro nobis, Sancte Magne.' Provision is made for the celebration both of the anniversary of his passion and of his translation. See *Kalendars of Scottish Saints.*

were heard; the rocks collapsed and blocked up the entrance. When the pagan adherents of Hacon arrived they could find nothing, and returned home in amazement. Some time after, when, on the death of Hacon Jarl, King Olaf Tryggvason succeeded to the throne of Norway, two Norwegians, both named Thord, approaching the island, perceived in the air a wonderful light, and upon landing, discovered a human head from which emanated a delightful odour. They at once started with the head for the court of the king; a consultation was held over it by the king and his English Bishop Sigurd, who at once repaired to the island, and under the guidance of a peasant, who had seen a heavenly light playing over a certain spot, discovered the rocks fallen at the entrance of the cave, on the removal of which the bones of Sunniva and her friends were found. Two churches were at once erected in Selja and dedicated respectively to S. Sunniva[1] and S. Alban, to the latter of whom the head was said to belong. A remarkable conjunction! In 1170 the relics of Sunniva were brought from Selja to Bergen by Bishop Paul, Chaplain to king Eystein, and were placed in the Cathedral there; and Sunniva and Alban came to be regarded as the proto-martyrs of Norway. Whence this legend came to Norway would best appear if the nationality of the saint could be settled. Professor Bugge is of opinion that the name is the northern form of the Frankish name Sunnoveifa. On the other hand, Ivar Aasen has called attention to its resemblance to many old English names, e.g. Brihteva, Edeva, Godeva, Leveva, and Alfifa[2]. But the very same name occurs in England, e.g. Sonneva, a woman of York, in the Conqueror's day[3], and Sunieve a poor woman at Edgeworth[4], in the middle of the twelfth century. Besides which, Olaf Tryggvason, who first gave countenance to the miracle, was baptized in England, while his Bishop Sigurd was a born Englishman[5]. So that it is not unreasonable to suppose the Sunniva legend to have come from England and the more so, as it is mixed up with S. Alban, an Englishman, while, as the reader will perceive, there is an echo about it of the tale of S. Ursula.

IV.

Representation of S. Olaf in the Museum of Copenhagen, p. 44.

It is a painting in tempera on wood, three feet high and three feet six inches broad, which is thus described:—"In the centre of the picture S. Olaf appears with a crown and glory, an axe in the right hand and the ball of sovereignty in the left; which

[1] In a deed of the year 1327, Bishop Audfinn of Bergen requests Bishop William of Orkney to assist his priest Ivar in the collection of Sunnivae-miel, a tax which the inhabitants of Shetland had been accustomed to pay from old time to the shrine of S. Sunniva at Bergen. *Diplom. Norvagicum*, vii. p. 134.

[2] *Norsk Navnebok*, p. 75.

[3] *Domesday Book*, i. 298.

[4] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ii. 245.

[5] *Monumenta Historica Norwegiae*, xliv., by G. Storm. In Bergenstift, Synova is still a very common female name.

seems to have been the ordinary method of representing him in the oldest period: while in the late pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth century he always appears with the axe in the right hand, and a chalice in his left, treading on a dragon with a crowned human head (the symbol of the overthrow of heathenism), and clad in armour. Around this figure are four compartments, giving scenes of his life and death. In the lowest to the right is represented the death of S. Olaf at Stikklestad, July 29, 1030, pretty nearly as recorded in the Sagas. The King has thrown away his sword and shield and is fallen to the earth. Kalf Arnesen plunges his sword into his neck, Thorir Hund pierces him with a lance, and Thorstein Knarrarsmed strikes him on the knee with an axe. At the same time a soldier of Olaf's wounds Kalf in the cheek, and Thorir Hund bleeds in his left hand. In the lower compartment to the left the King on horseback gives a full purse to a monk. Above on the right the King's body is exhumed (Aug. 3, 1031). An elderly Bishop (? Grimkel) anoints the corpse, and a younger Bishop sprinkles holy water. Clergy are chaunting. In the higher compartment to the left we have the King's dream before Stikklestad (Snorri, *Olaf den Hell. Saga*, cap. 226). He sees heaven opened and a ladder up to it. Above is Christ, stretching out his hand and blessing the sleeping King. One of the King's men blows a horn to wake the army to the battle. . . . This picture may, to judge from the costumes and ornaments, be pretty safely assigned to about the year 1300. In the catalogue of 1737 it is described as 'a very ancient picture which was brought from Trondhjem in the year 1691.'"

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THE END.